

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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**TERMS:**—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere, \$4.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second class matter under Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English REVIEW OF REVIEWS, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



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### THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG OVER THE FRENCH FRONT

(From a photograph taken at Ham, near St. Quentin, in April)

As soon as the United States entered the war against Germany, members of the Lafayette Escadrille (the American Squadron) of the French Flying Corps, raised the Stars and Stripes on their machines. The pilot in the picture is Edward F. Hinkle, one of the plucky young Americans who have made a notable record in their flying work for the Allies in France. A hundred of our Army aviators recently sailed to take their places on the fighting line. The Government proposes to send ten thousand more, as soon as they can possibly be trained. This would be the most telling contribution to the combatant forces that America could make.

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# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVI

NEW YORK, JULY, 1917

No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Wars  
and Their  
Objects*

When men or nations are negotiating, the objects they wish to attain are constantly in mind. When, on the other hand, men or nations are fighting, attention becomes so concentrated upon the combat itself—upon the means and methods of war—that the objects for which the struggle was entered upon are sometimes forgotten. Still more frequently, when negotiation and argument are unavailing and nations resort to force, the issues change; and the objects to be gained take on a different character as the war progresses. When we intervened to rescue Cuba from Spain, no one imagined that we would end the thing by annexing the Philip-

pines and leaving Cuba independent. Yet in that war of nineteen years ago we held to the spirit of our original objects with unusual fidelity. We gave Cuba a guarantee of liberty and order, and found for her an appropriate place in the Western Hemisphere and in the world at large. We speedily transformed our annexation of the Philippines into a new kind of experimental tutelage. Instead of discouraging ideals of Philippine self-government and ultimate independence, we fostered those ambitions and undertook to train a wholly inexperienced people in the art of self-government. It will take several decades more to give anything like permanence and stability to the awakened and transformed Philippine nation. But it is not the object of the American Government to retard the process. On the contrary, America is trying to create a Philippine republic just as fast as it can possibly be done. To have set up a Cuban republic, to have created the Panama republic and given the world the benefits of the Panama Canal, to have taken long strides in the direction of harmonizing the West Indies and Central America on a plan compatible with local liberty and autonomy, and to have laid the foundations for a Philippine republic of the future—all this is to have made contributions of a constructive and permanent kind to the world's democratic development.



"TO FIGHT FOR YOUR FREEDOM AS WELL AS OUR OWN."—ELIHU ROOT.

From the *World* (New York)

(In his address to the Council of Ministers of the Russian provisional government, at Petrograd on June 15, Mr. Root declared that the triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty not only in Russia but in the whole world. With no enemy at their gates, therefore, Americans who love liberty will fight for it—and will fight for Russian freedom equally with their own. The oldest democracy joins with the youngest)

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*Why America  
Is Fighting*

If there was some measure of altruism in the objects we set for ourselves nineteen years ago, there is a far greater measure of altruism in those that have been enunciated for us, and accepted by us, in entering upon the present world war. President Wilson's statements, taken together, form a body of expressions that represent American opinion to a remarkable degree. Republicans and Democrats alike have endorsed and sup-

ported his statements as to our objects. An untrammeled press has rendered the verdict of public opinion, and it is unanimous. Mr. Wilson's great speech to the Senate in January was expressly revived by him and fully avowed in his war message to Congress of April 2. We do not seek any territories or indemnities. We are not actuated by sentiments of hatred or enmity towards bodies of population in any country. We seek to help in a democratic world movement that will abolish imperialism and militarism and create a modern world.

*To Free the World—a real Need*

We have been living in a world that was partly modern in its control and partly dominated by

forms of political and military autocracy that are dangerous to the liberties of the half that has become free. Just as Lincoln said that our American nation could not survive half slave and half free, so Wilson has said in effect that the world of our time cannot survive half dominated by military autocracy and half emancipated under democratic institutions. He was not merely using fine language. He was dealing in the most practical kind of concrete truth. A military autocracy like that of Germany, setting forth on its career in a world that is not also highly militarized, could so aggrandize itself that within ten years it could bring all the nations one after another under the baneful spell of its dominance. We know a great deal more about the causes and the fundamental nature of this war now, as we see the third year of it ending, than we knew in the first year.

*Moderate Terms, but Hard Fighting*

If you are conscious that your own objects are wholly altruistic, or that they are at least reasonable in the nature and extent of their self-seeking, it does not follow that you must make war in a moderate, inoffensive fashion. If the enemy were also altruistic or reasonable in his desires, it would be a monstrous thing to make war upon him at all, because reasonable and generous nations must find peaceful ways to remove misunderstandings. We are at war with Germany because that nation is wrong both in the objects it pursues and in the methods by which it seeks to gain its ends. It stakes everything upon the use of force guided by such intelligence and skill as have never before been brought to the service of warfare. There is no moderate course, there-

fore, to be pursued in meeting the German military organization. No argument can now be used against German militarism but that of an adequate opposition expressed in terms of military efficiency. Germany proposes to achieve certain things for herself, regardless of the rights of others, by sheer power. This is a condition that cannot be met by argument or a display of sweet reasonableness. Either German force must be successfully opposed by force, or the world must reconcile itself in advance to the consequences of German victory.

But what are to be the consequences of a victory for the Allies and ourselves? The military victory must be won by military means, and to that end there must be such a display of energy guided by intelligence as America never before exhibited. We have had a few people in the United States, erroneously called "pacifists," whose intentions have been decent enough but whose minds have failed to comprehend the realities. Their practical position for several years has been that America must be badly prepared, so as to be drawn inevitably into war with the certain defeat of all those things that the pacifists professed to hold dear. They were willing to trust a few men with guns, but not enough men to be successful in a fight. They preached a gospel of inefficiency. They told us that it was disgraceful to be strong, because strong people might be tempted to oppress weak people. They were sufficiently influential with the party in power to keep us wholly unprepared for self-defense, when everything that they professed to hold valuable was at stake. The process of mental recovery is slow and difficult, but the country seems to be throwing off its delusions and awaking to stern realities. Our endeavors to form an army are awkward, expensive, and not wholly intelligent, but we shall have made a moderate beginning by the middle of next year, and meanwhile in some real forms of preparation that are not dependent upon the obsolete traditions and the red tape of the War Department we shall perhaps have made brilliant progress and retrieved our bad record of dundering inefficiency.

*What Germany Combats*

In subsequent pages we shall discuss further the question of preparation, and of efficiency for war purposes. We are to do our part to

see that the schemes of German imperialism do not prevail in the world. We propose to help destroy those projects, and to destroy the mechanisms by which they were to be made successful. But while we are using force to aid in destroying the things we denounce as evil, we must also use statesmanship in bringing about the things we regard as constructive and beneficial. America will be strengthened rather than weakened for war if we can be assured that America will not yield anything whatsoever of its principles as respects the objects of this war. It was with the best of motives that President Wilson last year endeavored to bring the hostile nations nearer together by asking them to state the objects for which they were fighting, Germany having made overtures for a peace conference which the Allies had repudiated with scorn. Germany declined to disclose in advance her peace program; but the Allies, after much interchange of views, set forth a bill of particulars that was somewhat unfortunate as to its timeliness and its effects. It was so drastic in its projects of dismemberment and conquest that it unified the Teutonic group and enabled Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, all of them to proclaim to their own people that they were fighting for national

existence. Furthermore, it confused all the larger issues by making it appear that the Allies were little better than their enemies, inasmuch as they on their side adhered to the idea of force for furthering their own imperial or nationalistic projects, and were deliberately intending to make this war the means of extending their domains. Germany assumed the defensive tone, as if innocent and virtuous.

*Allied Appetite for Spoils*

At a period in the war when the Allies were quite confident that they had beaten Germany and Austria, they entered into secret agreements among themselves as to the division of the victors' spoils. Great Britain, it is understood, was to keep about a million square miles of Germany's colonies. Japan was to keep much that she had taken away from Germany in China and the Far East. Russia was to have Constantinople and a great deal of Asia Minor, and the Black Sea was to become a Russian lake. Italy was to extend her control all around the Adriatic, and was to make large gains of Turkish islands and perhaps of mainland adjacent to Smyrna. France was to have Alsace-Lorraine and certain other compensations. There was to be a new Poland under Russian influence, extending to the Baltic. Bohemia and other parts of Austria were to be made independent. Rumania was to have Transylvania and other enlargements. Serbia was to have Bosnia and a large part of Bulgaria's Macedonian territory, besides a part of northern Greece. Even if the Allies had tentatively agreed among themselves upon all these readjustments, it was obvious that no such program could be accomplished as a matter of negotiation, and that it could come into effect only as the result of overwhelming victory enabling the conqueror to impose his extreme terms without mercy or consideration. Certainly the people of the United States have not gone to war against Germany in order to protect Germany and her allies from any of the consequences of a merited defeat. But it is always well to defeat your enemy before you say too much about your plans for appropriating and dividing up his possessions.



WIN THE WAR ON THE OTHER SIDE OR WE SHALL HAVE TO FIGHT IT ON THIS SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC

AN OUNCE OF PREVENTION IS WORTH  
A POUND OF CURE  
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

*First Find the Principle*

From the American point of view, the establishment of principles is much more important than particular adjustments. We have discovered in European militarism a menace to

the whole world, and we wish to see it ended. Certainly we are not in the war to help Germany keep Alsace-Lorraine; but on the other hand we are not fighting to help France conquer those provinces in order to hold them by force until Germany shall find a convenient moment to recover them again. We are fighting to win freedom for a just solution of precisely such vexed questions as those of the disputed provinces. There can be no solution until everybody is willing to accept the principles of friendship, good will, and faith in the keeping of agreements. Some line, approximately two hundred miles long, extending from Belgium to Switzerland and forming the frontier between France and Germany, must be agreed upon and accepted. And the line must be as free from fortifications as the line between Canada and the United States. The feud over those provinces does not concern France and Germany alone. It has done more than any other one thing to create and keep alive modern militarism. It is to be hoped that the sobering effects of the war may lift that particular problem out of its atmosphere of passionate sentiment, and also out of the realm of political and economic calculation.

*Russia's Change of Heart*

The German formula seems to be that in case of full victory they will keep everything they can lay hands upon, and exact all indemnities that Europe and America can be made to pay. And the Germans have been much emboldened in their notions of what they may exact if they win the war, by the discovery that their enemies are also out for conquest. Unquestionably in the early stages of the war Russia led the Allies in formulating the general project of taking things and keeping them. England and France were very reluctant to admit Russia's claims to Constantinople and Armenia. But they yielded to those claims because they relied upon Russia to win the war for them. But now that Russia has renounced her policy of acquisitions, and has declared her unwillingness to help win the war for anybody's program of conquest, the whole situation has become changed. The United States has not entered this war upon the basis of the secret treaties that the Czar told his allies had previously made respecting territorial aims and objects. We went into the war primarily for our own protection. We are in no manner, directly or

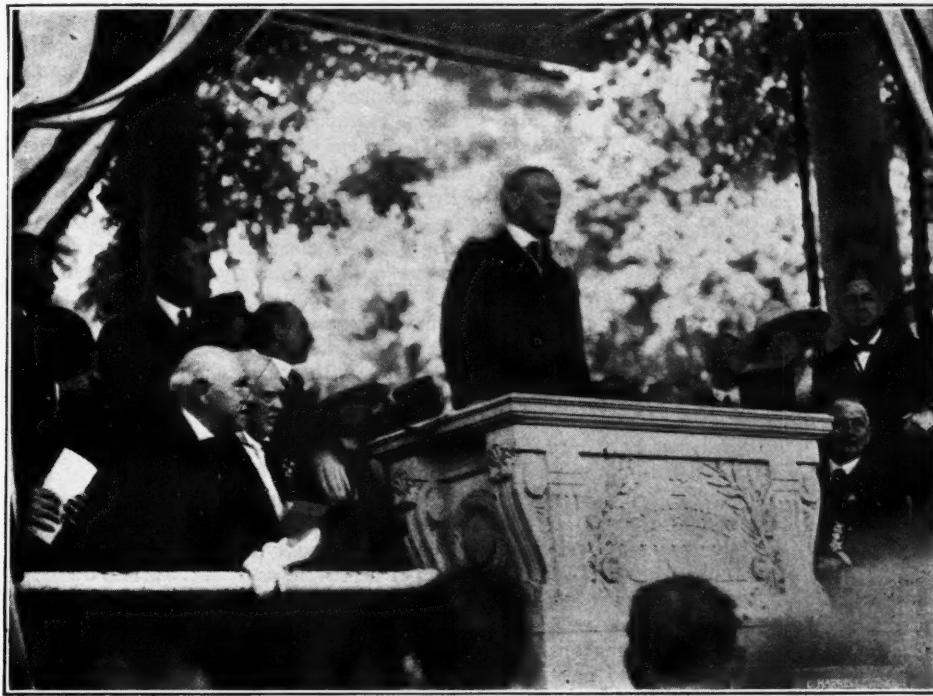
indirectly, committed to the program of annexations that the Allies announced last year. Russia's repudiation of that program has knocked the keystone out of the arch. Russia is willing to adhere to the treaty by terms of which the Allies agreed not to make separate peace; but she desires a revision of the agreements under which she was to fight for certain specified changes in the political map of Europe and Asia. The Russian people are intensely desirous of peace in order that they may set about the great work of educating their people and reconstructing their affairs upon the new basis of democracy. It is their duty to fight on with their allies; but, on the other hand, it is the business of the Allies to find some new and reassuring statement of war objects.

*Views Will Be Duly Reconciled*

We are not making these observations captiously or with any lack of sympathy for France or of admiration and good will for the attitude of Great Britain. France in reality is fighting for justice and peace, and she can state her case in such a way as to win the full



THE IMPERATIVE KNOCK OF RUSSIAN LABOR  
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



© Harris & Ewing, Washington

#### PRESIDENT WILSON MAKING ONE OF HIS NOTABLE ADDRESSES

(In a Memorial address on May 30, President Wilson dwelt upon "the cause of human liberty" as defining the object of America in entering the world struggle. In his famous Flag Day speech of June 14, he indicted Germany for her war objects and methods, and denounced "the sinister intrigue" for peace on German terms that is being "no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia." He declared that "we are not enemies of the German people" and that "we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own." In his note to Russia, made public on June 9, he had declared that America is fighting "for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force.")

support of the vast majority of the Russian people. Great Britain is too democratic at home, and the British Empire is too progressive and democratic in its parts, to make British imperialism a dangerous thing for the future world. But it may be quite possible for our British friends to make it a little clearer to Russia—and, incidentally, to some people in the United States—that they do not conceive of this war merely as a struggle for world supremacy between the German Empire and the British. It is true that the conduct of the war seems now to have fallen into hands of an intensely imperialistic group in Great Britain. But this is because the immediate demand for military and naval efficiency brings the aggressive and dominant type of man to the front. It is reasonable to believe that the British people have no aims or schemes for the future that would seriously disadvantage the peoples of any other democratic and peaceful nation. Undoubtedly the British Liberals are in full accord with the idea of a restatement of the

objects of the war; and the old ruling caste in Great Britain will have to accept the Liberal views.

*America  
Speaks to  
Russia*

President Wilson in his message to Russia stated again the objects America seeks; and it is well to note that the British and French governments have seemingly approved of this message, while also assuring Russia of their readiness to reconsider all points in the Allied program. The following sentences are from the President's notable communication to the Russian people:

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. . . .

No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life

and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical co-operation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another.

*Joint  
Guarantees  
for Future*

So far as Germany has rights at stake in this war that ought to be safeguarded in the future, she must be willing to have the world at large guarantee those rights. As for England, since she is now living in a world made up so largely of her own allies and companions in arms, she can afford to take her chances. No single nation in the future can be permitted to exercise military dominance through superiority of land power in Europe and Asia. By the same token, no one nation can be permitted to hold sheer dominance of the seas, which must henceforth be made neutral and safe with a complete revision of maritime international law, an abolition of submarines, and a prohibition of naval warfare. For a hundred years Canada and the United States, by solemn agreement, have banished "navalism" from the Great Lakes.

The present war must in like manner banish navalism from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. If things obviously necessary at this time cannot be accomplished as a result of the present war, all the world's suffering and sacrifice will have been in vain. Millions of young men will have sacrificed their lives at the behest of elderly incompetents.

*The World for  
Happiness  
and Youth*

War is a horrible business that victimizes youth, and cheats it of its right to live and be happy.

The young men and the young women of the world must insist upon seeing that this war ends with the accomplishment of something worth while. Otherwise the fools who precipitated the war will end it in folly, and the world will groan along under the curse of armaments and in constant dread of fresh wars. The system of kings and dynasties is played out, and democracy should have its full opportunity. Professional statesmanship is a menace as well as a humbug, and the "ruling classes," whether in Germany or elsewhere, should be suppressed for the world's safety. Secret diplomacy should be discarded along with militarism. As for colonialism, it must be viewed in a new light and relieved of its worst evils. Colonies should be held only for the best welfare of

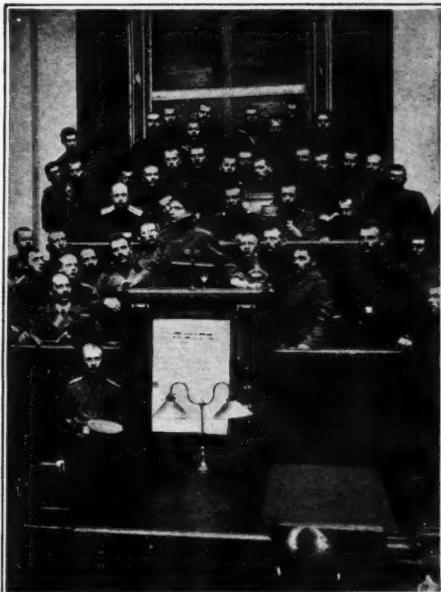


"HAIL, LIBERTY!" (A TYPICAL RUSSIAN CARTOON GLORIFYING THE REVOLUTION.)  
From *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd)

everybody concerned. Thus Egypt will always remain Egypt, and England's influence there will not be detrimental to the legitimate interests of any other nation. The United States in the Philippines, viewed rightfully, has a temporary rather than a permanent mission to fulfill. If it is right that German Southwest Africa should become a part of the South African Union, this solution ought not to be to the disadvantage of German settlers or traders. When a proper order of affairs is established in the world, the South African Union will become a member of the world family of states in its own right, rather than by way of London. As for Asia Minor, all nations ought to coöperate for the development of that neglected region that has so long suffered from the blight of Turkish misgovernment. In due time the inhabitants of Asia Minor can learn the principles of religious and political freedom and carry on a government in which Armenians, Turks, Greeks, Arabs, and men of all nationalities and creeds can have their just part as neighbors enjoying liberty and equality. This is no fantastic dream, but a thing that can be much more readily accomplished than the development of the Philippines, if it is entered upon in good faith by the associated nations.

*Can Russia  
Fight  
Again?*

Our readers will be greatly instructed by Mr. Simonds' straightforward discussion of the war as it now stands, presented in this number of the REVIEW. He finds Russia eliminated, so far as fighting is concerned, and he sees England, France, and Italy holding their deadlocked positions and waiting for America to arrive on the scene and give the Allies preponderance. Although Mr. Simonds' estimate of Russia's military collapse is probably correct, the world still continues to speculate, with hope on one side and with fear on the other, as to what Russia may do some time hence. In certain respects the political chaos in Russia appears less fraught with danger than a month ago. The Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates represented only a small part of the Russian people in its fantastic assumption of authority and its shallow pretense of a higher social morality than that of France, England, and America. Gradually the real representatives of the Russian people were coming in from distant parts of the empire, and in the middle of June the "All-Russia Congress of Workmen and Soldiers" was in



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#### RUSSIA INDULGES IN ORATORY

(The illustration shows soldiers and sailors on the rostrum of the Duma, listening to a speech by one of their comrades. In the background is the empty frame which until recently held the great painting of Czar Nicholas)

session and was giving the provisional government its cordial support. The Minister of War, Kerensky, was exerting himself to the utmost, while General Brusiloff, as commander-in-chief, was endeavoring to revive the fighting spirit on the quiescent battlefronts. Germany was using every imaginable device to keep the Russians demoralized and to persuade them not to fight, while holding out all sorts of inducements and promises to entice them into making a separate peace. But while the sentiment of the country was for universal peace at the earliest possible moment, it was overwhelmingly opposed to a peace that would merely array Russia with Germany, leaving France, England, and America to fight what had been Russia's battle.

*Still Some  
Slender  
Hopes*

Even if Russia cannot fight aggressively for a year, she can strengthen the authority of the provisional government and steadily build up her military strength, so that she can from month to month occupy the attention of an increasing, rather than a diminishing, number of German and Austrian soldiers. For some months past the Central Powers



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AMBASSADOR SPRING-RICE (LEFT) WITH LORD NORTHCLIFFE, IN WASHINGTON

(Great Britain's business affairs in the United States are on a scale of such magnitude as to require a co-ordinating head. Lord Northcliffe—still best known in America as Alfred Harmsworth—was sent here last month as a capable man of affairs to represent the British war government in that great field of emergency business that does not belong to the Ambassador. Our readers will be interested in a sprightly sketch of Northcliffe contributed to this number by Mr. Allan Dawson, editor of the *New York Globe*)

have been able to transfer men from the Russian front to use them against the French, British, and Italians. But if Russia makes even a moderate effort she can prevent the further thinning of the Teutonic line, and can, on the contrary, compel the tide to turn in the other direction. If Russia can but settle down politically she may yet be able, by virtue of her firm good faith and a wise use of limited resources, to render material aid in the final battles. The Allies will have to assume that they must go for-

ward without Russian help; but it is permissible to hope, nevertheless, that Russia may recover and do the unexpected thing.

*What Can  
America Do  
to Help?*

Since, however, the Allies are waiting for America, it becomes highly important for America to know what she can do. It is not unreasonable, in view of existing conditions, to say that the war will be lost or won according to the intelligence shown by the United States in the choice of methods. The most immediate contribution we could make to the cause of the Allies was financial credit, together with assistance in the use of that credit to buy food and other supplies at reasonable prices, while also assisting to the utmost in supplying ocean tonnage. In the line of direct participation in the war, the most essential service for America to render at the outset was to bring the highest concentration of naval effort and inventive skill to bear upon means to deal with the submarine peril. It is useless now to conjecture what the British Navy might have accomplished in three years if its policies had been directed more intelligently and aggressively. The great war will probably be lost or won according as the submarine campaign succeeds or fails within the next few months. The idea that we can build merchant ships so fast that submarine losses will not affect the main situation is a delusion. During the last three or four months the Germans have been sinking ships three or four times as fast as all the shipyards of the world can provide new tonnage. The submarine must be tackled directly, and beaten.

*The  
Submarine  
Menace*

The Germans know how to concentrate upon things that give results. Earlier in the war they won their successes by enormous superiority in artillery. They supported their batteries by the aid of aircraft, in which, also, they were incomparably superior for a long time. When they were driven off the surface of the seas, they concentrated their naval energy upon submarines and mines. The enormously superior British navy has looked on helplessly while the German submarine fleet has grown steadily in numbers and efficiency. All the cargo ships that can be built will be needed for the transportation of food and other supplies. But if the great tonnage of new carriers that the Shipping Board is planning—and that Mr. Winthrop Marvin describes in a valuable article contributed



AMERICAN INGENUITY MUST CONFRONT THE SUBMARINE MENACE  
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

to this number of the REVIEW—is to be kept afloat and to serve a useful purpose, it must rely upon something more satisfactory than a diminishing average chance of running the submarine blockade in safety. We were informed some weeks ago by Secretary Daniels and members of the Naval Advisory Board that the solution had probably been found. No recent information has been vouchsafed to the public. American energy and resources can build many ships of steel and of wood for carrying men and supplies. But the thing needed is American genius to meet the submarine emergency, and to beat the Germans at their own game.

*Supremacy in the Air*  
But there is another thing that America can attempt, and that may prove more decisive than the submarine if pushed without delay. The thing needed is to adopt Germany's plan and outdo her in combining high intelligence with the expenditure of energy and resources. The one field plainly open for such a combination is that of aviation. In the present stage of the war America should attempt to contribute only that which represents the highest training and skill. If England and France had possessed overwhelming superiority in the air at all times during the past year, they would have won the war. They could have driven the German airmen completely off the field, and thus—to use a phrase now current—could have "put out

the eyes" of the German artillerymen. With a sufficient number of aircraft, the French and British could have made constant raids upon German lines of communication and upon munition works like those of the Krupps, at Essen. When the war broke out, in 1914, it was discovered in England that the only aeroplane engines they had were made in Germany. England and France, taken together, are now able to maintain an air service almost equal to that of Germany, but they cannot surpass it. If Germany were relieved of the need of maintaining an air service on the long Russian line, the English and French airmen might find themselves overpowered. The United States, however, can standardize engines and parts, apply the principles of quantity production, and within a few months be producing several times as many aeroplanes as any other country.

*Our New "Aero" Program*  
The Aviation Board, under the leadership of Mr. Howard Coffin, and with the support of the Council of National Defense, has studied this question of air service until it has mastered all the theoretical and practical essentials of an American policy. It has secured the approbation of Secretary Baker and of the President. The exponents of this policy, including Mr. Coffin, Admiral Peary, and others, have gone frankly before the committees of Congress and stated their case. They are asking for money enough to de-



BACK TO THE OLD NEST  
From the *News* (Dayton)

(At Dayton, Ohio, they are pleased because the War Council has chosen the very field where the Wright brothers made their experiments for the development of the most important of the future training schools. It is planned to train many hundreds of airmen at Dayton)

velop an immediate aviation program on a large scale. They ask Congress to appropriate not less than \$600,000,000 to begin with. To many unaccustomed minds this program is novel. There are those who would prefer to have us take hundreds of thousands of our boys and carefully teach them how to put their thumbs on the seams of their trousers and acquire a beautiful regularity in infantry drill. At this moment we are taxing our resources to teach some of the most brilliant engineers and professional men in the world what the ordinary boy in a military school learns of simple discipline, in order to fit them to be subordinate officers in regiments of infantry. The idea that we must feed hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of our boys into the trench warfare abroad is all very loyal, sincere, and simple-hearted. But as a sole reliance, it might be fraught with defeat for the Allies and for ourselves. We are capable of better things. Doubtless Mr. Edison would shovel coal for his country, and Mr. Marconi would scrub decks. But this war needs brains.

*Our Army  
"at the  
Front"*

The Germans know just how many regiments of our American "regulars" have already been sent abroad as the forerunners of the army under General Pershing. Everybody else knows, it is safe to guess, except the Americans who rely upon newspapers. The waiters in New York restaurants, even those who do not speak German, seem to know by fairly accurate hearsay about the movement of troops. It is not so many months since everyone was permitted to know that our available mobile army in the United States consisted of about 30,000 men. We are speaking, of course, not of the National Guard, but of the regulars. We are in the process of recruiting the regulars rapidly up to a maximum of something less than 300,000. It was duly announced that Pershing was to have at once a "division" of regulars, and that this would comprise somewhat more than 25,000 men. Whether these men sailed in advance of Pershing, or afterwards, or still remain in the United States, is perfectly well known to the German authorities, but will not be known to the readers of American newspapers and periodicals until the War Department authorizes publication. We are at this moment carrying reticence about such matters farther in the American press than it has ever been carried before in any country in the history of the world. It cannot be deemed an indiscretion, however, to recite the obvious mathematical fact that if a mobile army of 30,000 is suddenly recruited up to 210,000, for example, it is much diluted as respects training. It would, perhaps, be sufficiently obvious that regiments of regulars thus reconstituted would contain an average of 15 per cent. of soldiers who had had some discipline and training, and 85 per cent. of untrained men.

Such men in England and Canada have been subjected to an average of a year's training before being sent to the firing line. The Canadians, for instance, have trained for half a year or more in the great Canadian camps, and then for perhaps a longer period at Salisbury Plain or elsewhere in England. But it may be said further, without passing from the realm of the obvious to that of whispered military secrets, that an army thus suddenly recruited is likely to be far worse off in the supply of its experienced officers than in the untrained character of its privates. Our regi-

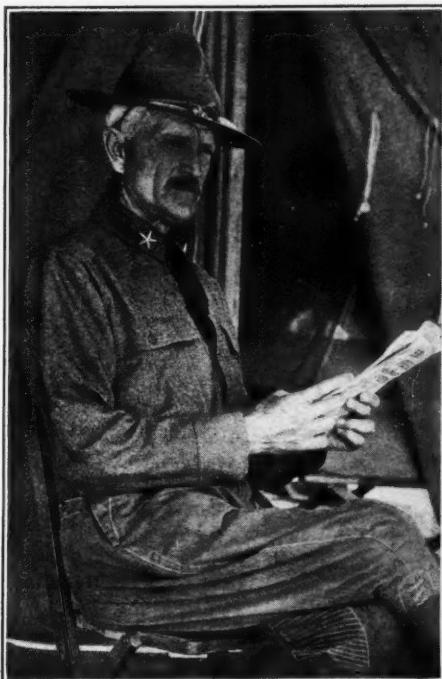
ular officers are a fine lot of men, but they are merely human beings and not supermen. When these officers are ordered by the War Department to carry on a number of great training camps, like that at Plattsburg, and to give instruction in many institutions like Princeton or the western universities, how are they also to take full charge of all the new formations required when the regular army is suddenly expanded to seven or eight times its previous size? The War Department and the General Staff—knowing the situation as it was, and dealing in military fact rather than in sentiment—took the ground that we should not be prepared to send any troops to Europe until the middle of 1918. If anyone has been able to answer their statements and arguments, we have not been made aware of it.

*"Sentiment" Also an Asset In War*

Undoubtedly General Joffre understood all these facts thoroughly while he was here. Certainly no living man understands them better than do General Pershing and the brilliant officers who went abroad with him as his personal staff. Nevertheless, General Joffre desired to have a division sent over, and General Pershing last month was the idol of the boulevards. This was because he represented so perfectly the fine spirit of the American army, and the good faith of the American people in entering upon the war. General Joffre knew how France had suffered, and he desired to have Americans in evidence as soon as possible to encourage France and as an object-lesson to all concerned. It means a considerable commitment as respects shipping to maintain even one division across the Atlantic, while it is being trained for war. This can be met, of course; but to have adopted the policy of rushing division after division of untrained troops, without equipment, across the Atlantic would have been disastrous in every sense.

*The Bold Policy Will Succeed*

It has been claimed that one aviator is worth a thousand infantry soldiers. This, of course, depends upon the relative conditions. Ten thousand American aviators in France would require no more food and clothing than ten thousand National Guardsmen. But if the flying machines were available, and the aviators were duly trained, such a force of airmen, added to those of the British and French armies, might win the war in a comparatively short time. They would be worth, just now,

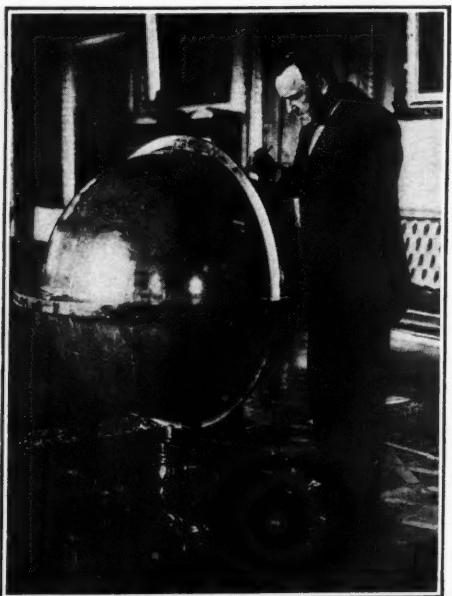


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MAJOR-GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING

(This photograph shows General Pershing as he appeared in the recent Mexican expedition. On page 57 is a picture showing him as he looks in Paris)

half a million raw infantry recruits. One of the principal reasons why the Germans make so many air raids upon the coasts of England is to make the British feel it necessary to keep hundreds of their aircraft at home for protection and defense. This situation could soon be completely reversed if America were specializing in the building of aircraft and the training of aviators. Experience has now settled the earlier questions as to the importance of aeroplanes in war. Our authorities at Washington are preparing training fields for aviators in different parts of the country, one of the largest being at Dayton, Ohio. It is their present opinion that England and France should build battleplanes, and that in this country we should build chiefly the training machines. It is further proposed that American workmen and skilled mechanics should be sent abroad to assist in greatly increasing the output of battleplanes. It is proposed to utilize some of the largest of the automobile factories of this country to build training planes and to make engines for the European battleplanes. This is a program that appeals to the imag-



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HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY,  
IN HIS OFFICE

(Mr. Daniels had vision enough, two or three years ago, to create the Naval Consulting Board; and his energy in the work of his department is commended at home and abroad)

ination by reason of its boldness and its extent. But it also appeals to the judgment, because it is sound and well considered. The press of the country is endorsing it with great confidence in its wisdom. Congress is not likely to block a program that the whole country is ready to support.

*Our Administrative System in War Time*—The American people have already shown the world their ability to act together and rise to great emergencies. They did not wish to go into the war, yet they are convinced of the essential justice of the cause for which we are fighting. They are entitled to the highest intelligence the country possesses in the conduct of its military affairs. It happens that our political system does not lend itself to those changes in cabinet posts that the more elastic parliamentary arrangements of Europe are constantly bringing about. Men who fill posts fairly well in times of peace may not be the right men in times of war. These are times in which it is reasonable to assume that no man would for a single day occupy any public office for reasons of his own personal ambition, if he believed that some other man could be found

who would fill the place more efficiently. It is hardly conceivable that any cabinet officer, under a system like ours, would not hand his resignation to the President and insist upon having it accepted at the very first moment when a more capable executive could be found to administer the duties of his post. Hundreds of the most efficient and highly trained men of America are giving their services, without pay and without newspaper publicity, upon government boards of one kind or another, all of them being willing to serve the country in however modest or subordinate a place. It happens in some instances that men of extraordinary talents are obliged to await the decisions of men above them of far less ability and experience; and these in turn may have to wait upon the final action of someone whose habits of mind are not decisive and whose inexperience is a handicap to the dispatch of business. The American public at the present moment is extremely submissive, and has been encouraged to accept the novel view that to find fault with official incapacity is a sort of disloyalty. Yet the truth is that it is essentially disloyal not to find fault with office-holders unless they are doing their work as well as it should be done.

*Sanity of  
American  
Press*

The remarkable spirit of service and energy that the efficient men of the country are showing is bringing things to pass, and it is fairly forcing businesslike methods upon officialdom. The newspapers have given an exhibition of loyalty, sanity, and moderation that has never at any time been surpassed. Just why the Administration has been so anxious to bring the press under the restraints of censorship has not been made clear. Contrasting the discretion of the one party with the discretion of the other party, it would seem more suitable that a committee of experienced editors and publishers should be appointed to act as a board of censors to control the utterances of the relatively inept and amateurish officials. Blunders of expression thus far have not been on the part of the press, but on the part of office-holders. Congress was compelled to waste many days, if not weeks, of valuable time in combating and finally killing a censorship measure that was arbitrary and needless. The Espionage bill as a whole had perhaps some justification, although there was probably power enough already in the hands of the Government to deal with offenders.

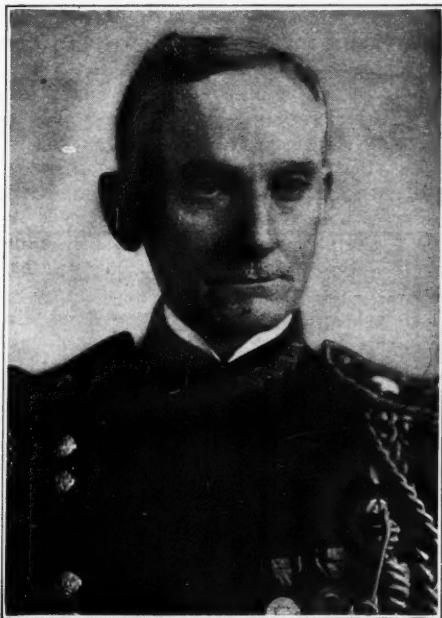
*Enrolling  
Ten Millions*

There was, of course, never any reason to anticipate difficulty in securing a fairly complete enrollment under the act providing for the Selective Draft. The Census Bureau had estimated that there were about 10,000,000 men in the country between the ages of 21 and 31. When allowance is made for those who were already in the army and navy, therefore not obliged to enroll, the estimate proved to be sufficiently accurate. Some of the States enrolled more men than the Census Bureau had expected, while others fell short. The evasions were not important in any locality. It was announced, late in June, that a statement was soon to be made by the President regarding the methods to be used in selecting some 600,000 men out of a total enrollment about sixteen times as great. We have never seen any intelligible interpretation of the law, yet the common opinion that it can be made to work fairly well seems to be justified. There is a certain lack of common sense that affects everything that relates to army enlistments and



GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER, WHO HAS DIRECTED THE ENROLLMENT OF TEN MILLION CITIZENS UNDER THE SELECTIVE DRAFT LAW

(Major-General Crowder has been an officer in the army since his graduation from West Point thirty-six years ago. He managed to acquire knowledge of military law, and was transferred to the Judge Advocate's branch of the service in 1895. He became Judge Advocate General of the army in 1911. He was in the Philippines for three years, was in Manchuria with the Japanese army, served two years in Cuba, and was in Chile on a special mission in 1911. When the new law was passed he was appointed Provost Marshal General for the purpose of directing and managing the great enrollment, and he will be concerned with the further processes of selection and enlistment. He was born in Missouri fifty-eight years ago)



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BRIG.-GEN. HENRY P. MC CAIN, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(The Adjutant-General has supervision of army recruiting and is in charge of all the lists and records. His office is the center of all kinds of information, and his duties require a vast expansion of routine work and organization in times like these. General McCain graduated from West Point thirty-two years ago, and has been in the Adjutant-General's department for the past seventeen years. He was born in Mississippi)

the like in the United States. This was illustrated by the query on the enrollment blanks, "Do you claim exemption?"—which ten million men were required to answer, although the great Government that prepared and issued the blanks knew that no one was entitled to claim exemption.

*"Red Tape" in the Army* The question of exemption had nothing to do with the unqualified duty of enrollment. Nobody could be exempt until rules of selection had been prepared; and exemption could only be claimed under such rules before the local drafting and exempting boards. But no one really expects to apply ordinary standards of reason to army matters. American common sense will somehow assert itself, in spite of War Department red tape. Thus our splendid groups of surgeons who have been going abroad, one after another, know quite



HER SONS RESPOND  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)

well what they need to take, and only laugh good-naturedly when they receive printed lists from the War Department advising them that they are to take horses and saddles, with various other things that it is no more possible for them to take than elephants. We are providing the money, however, for a very large military establishment; and the time is coming when the army bureaus at Washington will have to be overhauled and modernized. As things stand, those bureaus would be rather helpless but for the civilian organization that has been developed by the Advisory Board of the War Council.

*War Problems and the Army* We are in serious danger from the prevalence of a most monstrous fallacy. That fallacy consists in supposing that the excellent little body of officers and men that we call our army is prepared to take the leading part in organizing a national war. Our army is a permanent military police force, very small, with excellent regimental officers. For the chance it has had, it is as good a force as any other. But a great war, that taxes all the energies of a nation, involves problems of organization for which the technical training and specialized experience of the typical army officer renders him less fit than he would have been if he had spent his life in some very active civilian pursuit. The business of calling out the National Guard and putting it into camp in Texas subjected the War Department to a strain that it met most

painfully and unequally, although it would have been a small affair for a committee of railroad managers or a firm of big contractors. This is not in the least to the disparagement of the army. The Washington bureaus had never learned how to do such things, because they had never had such problems to solve. Their red-tape methods could be endured under normal conditions of peace. In emergencies such methods were as hopeless as they were unfit. Militarized Germany represents the sum total of the nation's energy and talent applied to the carrying-on of war. To become militarized as Germany now is would require for the United States a period of from five to ten years, under dangers so drastic that mere routine persons and mediocre officials would have been forced aside for men of the first order of brains and leadership.

*Preparing the Camps* Congress was ready, without hesitation, to vote almost inconceivable sums of money for the army to spend. Congress also responded acceptably to the Department's demand for the right to draft soldiers by the millions. The Department announced that it would begin with selecting about 600,000 men, who would at once be put into training in thirty-two large permanent camps, called "cantonnements." After trying to select sites for a few weeks, the Department decided upon sixteen rather than thirty-two. Then it found that



JUNE 5, 1917—UNCLE SAM ENLISTS  
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

construction plans had to be agreed upon for these shelters, each camp being intended to accommodate about 40,000 men. Late in June the Department was uncertain whether the wooden barracks buildings should be of one story or of two stories. It had been announced originally that they would all be ready for the men by September 1. Later, however, it was stated that they might not be ready before November. The Civilian Advisory Board could have built them easily; but the Department, we are told, had to cater to local contractors under political pressure. Weather considerations induced the Department to locate most of the sixteen in the South, as more suited to winter training. In 1898 our selection of camp sites and management of the whole business reflected extreme discredit upon the army. In 1917 the officials are determined to avoid the criminal blunders of the typhoid-infested camps of nineteen years ago. Doubtless the new camps will be very expensive, but fairly satisfactory from the standpoint of army men, and quite sanitary.

*Mistaken Theories*

But the theory is at fault, because it contemplates not the training of a nation for actual war service, but only the project of developing a small "regular" army into a large "regular" army. A plan of universal military service could have been operated for half the expense, in a simple way, giving ten times as many young men some training in the vicinity of their own homes. If the war is to be won by the Allies, it will be due to methods and processes very different from those that have been too much employed in the fighting along the French line. All Americans should be trained for military service for the defense of this country in case of its invasion. But the sending of large American armies to fight in Europe is likely to prove futile—a waste of resources and energy due only to that same inferiority of intelligence that has characterized the Allies in their management of the war from the very beginning. The German military machine can stand upon the defensive and grind up human fodder for the next twenty-five years, if we are to proceed upon the supposition that our task is merely to feed successive army divisions of our boys into the jaws of the machine. A study of the present season's fighting from the standpoint of the so-called "attrition" policy, will show how little is gained and how fearful are the costs.



UNCLE SAM NEEDS TO STUDY IN THE LIBRARY OF  
MILITARY BLUNDERS  
From the *Post-Express* (Rochester)

*Buzz-saws and Woodpiles*

Sometimes the buzz-saw loses a tooth in its contact with the woodpile, but it is almost invariably the case that woodpiles vanish and buzz-saws survive. The buzz-saw represents skill in mechanism and a steam or gasoline engine to supply the force. The woodpile is superior in quantity, and with the aid of human muscle it meets the buzz-saw unflinchingly. This is the way the brave British soldiery met the German war machine at a time when, as we are told on high authority, three Germans sufficed to operate the buzz-saw mechanism for every two yards of the line, while nine Englishmen on the other side (for every two yards) represented the woodpile that was being fed to the buzz-saw. America can send to Europe, for the purposes of this war, experts of various kinds—railroad engineers, trained aviators, skilful surgeons, and so on. But such numbers of



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A TYPICAL SCENE IN THE OFFICERS' TRAINING CAMP AT FORT SHERIDAN, NEAR CHICAGO

infantrymen for service in the trenches as we could properly train and send to Europe with equipment and continuing supplies, would not make a dent in the German war machine short of two or three years, in view of the shipping situation and many other obstacles. The great aviation program is a sound one. The routine army scheme of leaving this nation still without a plan of universal training, while turning bodies of picked young men into "regulars," and sending them to Europe, is doomed to failure from the start.

*"States of Mind" and the War* Mr. Simonds shows how the war on the fighting lines is at a pause, has gone stale, and may continue deadlocked for two more years. And he shows plainly, also, that Europe is waiting for America. But the war has reached a stage where internal politics, international diplomacy, and prevailing states of mind are becoming relatively more important than the fighting. General Pershing went over to affect the "psychology" of France. Our brave friends of the indomitable Republic needed cheering up. But the Germans and their allies are also likely to be affected in a psychological sense by exhibitions of American efficiency and intelligence. With Russia passive, and the submarine campaign producing results, Germany has figured upon wearing out France and giving England hunger panics within the coming three or four months. England has probably 3,000,000

fairly well-trained men in her reserve camps at home. A few infantry divisions, more or less, from the United States, that could not possibly be made effective before next spring, are too negligible to enter into the German calculations. If Germany should force France and England to make peace on her own terms, she might exact a large indemnity which she would expect the United States to provide or to guarantee. Our attitude towards such an indemnity would depend largely upon whether we were in a state of preparedness for national defense here on our own soil. And Germany's ideas will change radically, when we arm ourselves. Every step in America's war progress is known at once, and well studied, in Berlin.



© International Film Service

STUDYING THE WAR MAP IN THE SUMMER TRAINING CAMP AT FORT MYER, NEAR WASHINGTON

*National Defense an Object*

We shall have shown ourselves very incapable observers of European conditions if we fail to see the need of readiness for national defense. This means that we ought to have 5,000,000 men under training, though with no plan of sending them to Europe. It means that we ought to have Admiral Peary's Coast Guard aeroplane service; that we ought to have a hundred times as much field artillery and a hundred times as many machine guns as we now possess, not for use in Europe but for defense at home. The Aviation Board's plan for making America incomparably strong in trained men and flying machines for war service is the best plan of all, because it meets the double test of rendering the earliest possible help to our allies in Europe and of providing the most quickly devised method of national defense in case we are assailed. It is true that the drafted army will be useful for defense, although what we need is not a standing army of a million men, but trained reserves of at least five million, with appropriate equipment and supplies.

*Training the Country*

From the German point of view, creating military efficiency here at home in the real sense would begin to make us worthy of respect. It would show that we do not intend, under any circumstances, to pay Germany a penny of indemnity on behalf of ourselves, and that our credit can never be drawn upon to pay indemnities for any other of Germany's foes. Neglecting our own thoroughgoing preparation to uphold our dignity, while sending small expeditionary forces abroad in a chivalrous and romantic spirit, would satisfy the efficient German mind as to our incapacity. Elsewhere in this number we have an article on the training camps in which selected civilians are qualifying for officers' commissions. These are men of high type, many of whom ought to be advanced rapidly as they are assigned to the tasks of organizing and training the levies of raw men who will enter the cantonments in the autumn. But meanwhile there are many thousands of men, younger and older, who are getting a good beginning in their home-guard companies, while scores of thousands of boys and young men are doing well in school and college battalions. Some of the States—notably New York—are doing all that they can to encourage military discipline and training among young men who for one reason or another may not now enter the army. The Government should

show energy in supplying equipment to young men who are thus willing to be trained in their home neighborhoods or in their schools.

*Students and Their Duty*

"War fever" has been especially prevalent in some of our colleges and schools, with consequences not wholly desirable. If we had been entering upon a ninety-day struggle, immature undergraduates, along with everybody else, might well have rushed to the enlistment booths. But the particular exigency called for nothing of the kind. Congress and the authorities at Washington were amply able to develop an army and navy system, and to find the proper types and classes of men in suitable numbers. It is particularly desirable that students in our schools and colleges should stay at their work and finish their courses, provided their work be thorough, and of a kind to prepare them for mature and efficient service after they graduate. If the work of the colleges is valuable, it should go on more seriously than ever. If it is not valuable, the methods should be reformed. No young man in the middle of a college course, who is willing to do his work well and who looks forward to a life of usefulness as a man and a citizen, need think of himself as a "slacker" in the eyes of sensible people if he sticks to his college work. The country will need him much more when he is through his course than it needs him now.

*Training While at College*

Furthermore, there are no other circumstances where military training can be given so economically and conveniently as in the large colleges and schools. Afternoons and evenings afford time for as much drill and as many lectures as military instruction could well require. The bodies of young men are already assembled, the college provides the dormitories, the commissary service is furnished, and little more is required except khaki suits, rifles, and a military instructor or two. The conscientious student at college may do all the work that pertains to his course of study while improving his health and fitting himself for future service, by taking military instruction regularly. Such a young man, after graduation, can soon qualify if he is needed for an officer's commission. Or if he enters the army as a private he may count upon rapid promotion. Young men at West Point are merely college students who are under military discipline and who take special studies in military science because they

expect to enter the army. The student at Yale, or at the University of Nebraska, who will avail himself fully of opportunities for military training while at college, serves the country best by sticking to his course, precisely as the West Point boy does his duty by remaining at West Point rather than by rushing off and enlisting as a private.

*Food and Embargo*

The food situation is not less serious, although it was less under public discussion in June than in May. The excitement in April and May was due to the need of stimulating effort in the planting season. Our wheat crop will be considerably below the average, though a little better than last year. It is too early to know how seriously the late season will have affected the corn crop. The demand for wheat to send abroad is increasingly great. Women are studying domestic economy and the better management of food problems, with a great deal of wisdom and sense. Mr. Hoover was last month explaining to Congress why it was desirable to confer upon the President large powers over the food supply. Mr. Hoover's great capacity was fully recognized, and even without laws at his back he was finding ways to meet some of the problems of food distribution. Meanwhile, Congress had given the President the desired embargo power as one of the sections in the so-called Espionage bill. Under this power, the Administration can absolutely control the export of food supplies—and, for that matter, of anything else. This country

is a belligerent, and it is not under any obligation to concern itself about the supply of commodities to neutrals. In anticipation of this embargo power, the neutral countries were buying food supplies and the like in the United States and shipping them with feverish energy. They must now submit to whatever restrictions may be placed upon them.

*Neutrals and Commerce*

Mr. Hoover's experience abroad, while controlling Belgian relief, gave him a valuable insight into the commercial relationships of the European neutrals—that is to say, of Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. As a belligerent, we must decline to help Germany by way of neutral countries. Further than that, we may regulate our trade with neutral countries in accordance with the positive interests of our allies. Thus England needs Spanish ore, and we can afford to trade more favorably with Spain if she in turn ships ore more favorably to England. Germany's methods have been far more harmful to these European neutrals than to us in the United States. When Belgium was assailed, their right of existence as small states was also challenged. Lawless use of submarines and mines has injured them more vitally than it has affected us. If they could help end the war promptly, they ought all to take part against Germany. Certainly they cannot object to our regulating our commerce in the interest of the nations that are fighting for the rights of neutrals. We are their champions.



MR. HOOVER IS THE EXPERT IN SHOWING HOW TO  
DRIVE OFF THE RATS AND CROWS  
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

*Latin America Friendly*

A very interesting statement came from Uruguay last month, in the form of an order issued by President Viera, of that country. "No American country," declares the order, "which in defense of its rights shall find itself in a state of war with nations of other continents, will be treated as a belligerent." The Government of Uruguay had hoped that all American republics might unite in an agreement for common action, but in any case Uruguay extends full hospitality to the ships of the United States. Brazil took her place with us immediately upon our entering the war. Argentina has been tending toward a position similar to that of Uruguay. It is well known that one of Germany's objects has been to defy the Monroe Doctrine, and that Germany has planned to acquire naval stations and colonies in the West Indies and South America. Even in Mexico a move-



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**THE PEOPLE OF TASHKEND, ASIATIC RUSSIA, CELEBRATING THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC**

(On the signs in the center of the picture are such sentiments as the following: "Long Live the Democratic Republic," "Rejoice, Children, We Will Be Educated in Free Schools by Free Teachers," "Long Live Brotherhood and Equality," "Long Live the Democratic Federated Republic." America must somehow help these enthusiastic people to make their new-found liberty both real and permanent)

ment in the direction of Mexico's normal sympathies was gaining ground last month.

*The Root  
Commission  
in Russia* The admirable utterances of Mr. Root in Russia, and the good sense shown by the American commission to that country, brought deserved praise from the American press last month. Mr. John F. Stevens and his group of railway men were welcomed as helpers in the solution of Russia's transportation problems. A Russian mission meanwhile had arrived in the United States, and it was received with especial marks of consideration at Washington. All sorts of efforts are being made to find grounds of common understanding, for the present and for the future, between Russia and the United States. Undoubtedly, as a result of Mr. Root's presence in Petrograd, and other opportunities for conference, there will be ample opportunity for the United States to have an influential part in the decisions of the conference that Russia and her European allies will hold over a revision of agreements and a restatement of the war's objects. When Secretary of State, Mr. Root showed not merely a high order of talent, but above all he showed a sym-

pathetic ability to grasp the point of view of other nations. He smoothed out differences with Canada because he was willing to see the Canadian viewpoint, while Ambassador Bryce was equally willing to see ours. Mr. Root had the confidence and the good will of the South American governments because of his solicitude for their progress and welfare, and his courteous treatment of their representatives. He has known how to express the best American feeling and sentiment towards Russia; and his attitude is in precise accord with that of President Wilson and Secretary Lansing. We may hope, therefore—as well as ardently desire—that great good may come of the Russian mission. The Italian commission which is in this country has been treated with high regard, the fine personnel of the group lending added distinction to its official character. A Belgian commission also arrived last month, and found American sympathy and esteem quite unabated. President Wilson, on June 18, declared to the Belgian guests that "on the inevitable day of victory Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of the earth."



ANNIVERSARY GREETING FROM AMERICA  
From the *News* (Dayton)

*Progress of the Revenue Bill* Elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW is an article emphasizing the importance of going to the excess business profits of the country to obtain the first and largest part of the revenue which Congress is now attempting to provide by taxation for military expenditures. In the last part of June, the Finance Committee of the Senate was still considering the bill it would report and from current newspaper accounts and private information concerning the work of the committee, the final report will recommend a measure bearing little resemblance to Mr. Kitchin's House Bill. Indeed, Mr. Kitchin is reported in the daily press as stating that if the House Bill has been changed by the Senate as radically as current accounts have it, he would refuse to go into conference at all.

*Some  
Important  
Changes* Apart from the adoption by the Senate Committee of a fairer and more scientific principle for the excess profits tax, the important changes made in the House Bill have been the omission of the retro-active income tax; some scaling down of the extreme surtax rates prescribed by Mr. Kitchin; elimination of the customs tariff increase of 10 per cent., and, most important of all, a scaling down of the

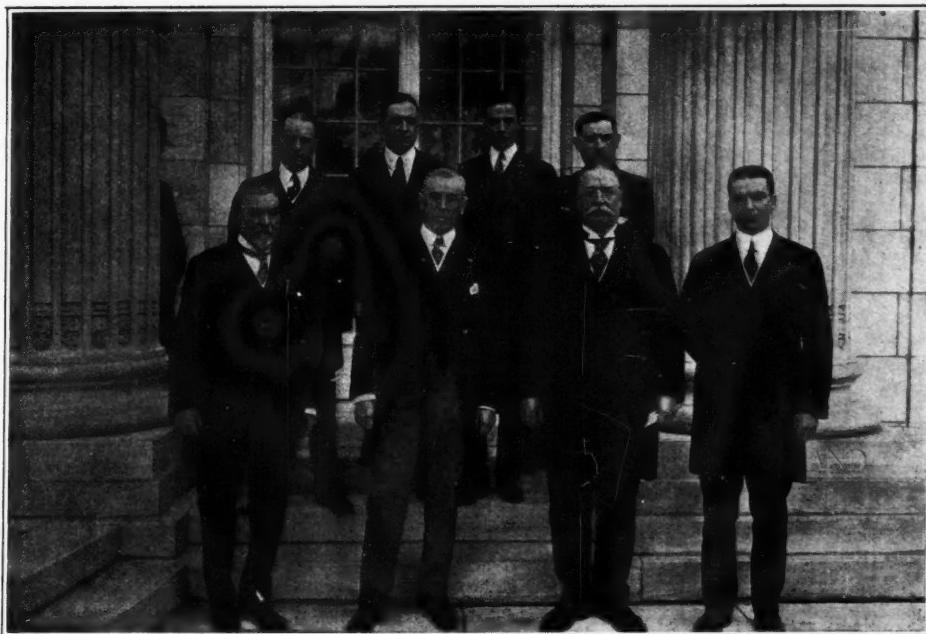
total sum to be raised by taxation the first year, from the House Bill's aggregate of more than \$1,800,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000 or less. There is a growing feeling in the country that it would be unwise in the first year of the war to raise by taxation a sum which, in proportion to the whole war expenditures of the country, is some 50 per cent. greater than England's proportion, which in turn is greater than that of any other of the warring countries. With all the admitted good reasons for planning a pay-as-you-go war, as far as it can be managed without unsettlement of business, it remains true that the all-important thing is so to manage finances as well as military effort as to win the war; and to interfere with industry by too abrupt changes will certainly handicap the effort to win the war.

*The  
Liberty Loan  
a Success*

On June 15 the subscription books closed for the \$2,000,000,-000 Liberty Loan. It was announced that the issue had been oversubscribed by \$800,000,000 and perhaps somewhat more. Mr. McAdoo was later reported as deciding that no bonds in addition to the stated amount would be issued, and that the applications of the larger subscribers would be scaled down to bring the total issue to \$2,000,000,000. When it is considered that Americans as a nation have not acquired the habit of investing in bonds, and that more especially the purchase of Government bonds by the public is a new thing, the success of so large a loan at a rate of interest considerably lower than any of the other countries at war are paying their people on their bond issues, may be said to show a very encouraging attitude on the part of the public. It is true that Secretary McAdoo put a vast amount of energy and ingenuity into the work of preparing the public for favorable action, and he was most generously and whole-heartedly aided by the press of the country, the banks and brokers and investment houses, and almost countless private agencies that helped in making sales.

*Political Turmoil In Many Lands*

Political conditions have been turbulent through June in various countries. Mr. Stoddard writes for us on the dethronement of King Constantine of Greece. The Allies, in placing Constantine's second son, Alexander, on the throne have entered upon a dubious experiment. The Greek political situation as brilliantly interpreted by Mr. Stoddard, and



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## AMERICAN RED CROSS OFFICERS AND WAR COUNCIL

(The President of the United States is also president of the Red Cross organization. Mr. Taft is chairman of the executive committee. At the left of the picture, in the front row, is Mr. Robert W. De Forest, of New York, vice-president, and at the right is Mr. Elliott Wadsworth, executive head of the organization. In the back row are the members of the new War Council. From left to right are: Mr. Henry P. Davison, chairman of the council, Mr. Grayson P. Murray, Mr. Charles D. Norton, and Mr. Edward N. Hurley. The remaining member of the council, Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., was not present when the photograph was taken)

the military situation as explained by Mr. Simonds, will be found of timely value by those who are interested in the Balkan puzzle. The abnormal conditions caused by the war have upset two recent ministries in Spain; and the latest situation was not cleared up as these pages went to press. China, in the endeavor so to adjust her policies as to secure for herself the best after-war conditions, is undergoing fresh shocks of revolution with much danger and trouble ahead. Within belligerent countries, also, there are violent political controversies. The climax of the Irish question has been reached in the plan of a convention representing all interests. We have already commented upon unsettled affairs in Russia. Austria has been in the throes of political upheaval, with the Polish element defiant and veering towards the idea of a Greater Poland, wholly independent. Hungary has changed premiers and cabinets, and is trying to conceive of a possible future with new affiliations. Politics and diplomacy have been much more important in June than fighting. And politics, with diplomacy, can alone end the deadlocked war.

*Red Cross  
Work on  
War Basis*

One of the things about which all Americans can agree is the project of supporting hospital work and relief work on a great scale, under the auspices of the Red Cross. Anticipating the needs and opportunities as America was entering the war, President Wilson some weeks ago appointed a Red Cross War Council, with Mr. Henry P. Davison, the New York banker, as its chairman. It was determined to go about this work with energy, foresight, and system, and to provide at once, by popular subscription, a fund of \$100,000,000 upon which to proceed. It was decided to concentrate the effort at raising the money, in so far as possible, within the third week of June. Responses were so gratifying from day to day that it was evident that a country which had just subscribed nearly three thousand millions for the Liberty Loan would not fail to give outright a hundred millions for the various forms of humanitarian service that the Red Cross organization is capable of carrying out. We shall in due time explain the Red Cross program.

# RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From May 21 to June 20, 1917)

## The Last Part of May

May 21.—Premier Lloyd George lays before Parliament his proposal that all factions of the people of Ireland meet in convention and decide upon a form of government.

May 22.—Ex-Premier Viviani and Marshal Joffre arrive in France, having secretly left the United States on May 15.

May 23.—The Italian war mission to the United States—headed by the Prince of Udine, William Marconi, and the Minister of Transportation—is welcomed at Washington.

The United States denies passports to delegates to an international Socialist conference in Stockholm, whose aim is said to be pro-German peace.

The Premier of Hungary, Count Tisza (a leader of the pro-German element) resigns.

May 24.—The Italian offensive against the Austrian lines enters a second phase, breaking through on the Carso Plateau, northwest of Trieste, and resulting in the capture of 9,000 Austrians.

The British Admiralty announces the sinking of the transport *Transylvania* by a submarine in the Mediterranean on May 4; 458 lives were lost.

May 25.—A squadron of German airplanes carries out a destructive raid over England; 76 persons in towns along the southeast coast are killed by bombs.

An official at the French army headquarters estimates Germany's effective military strength at 3,000,000 men, two-thirds being on the Western front; this is 500,000 less than General Joffre's estimate of September, 1916.

The British mission to the United States crosses into Canada on its return to Europe.

May 26.—The offensive on the Isonzo front is characterized by the Austrians as Italy's greatest effort in two years of war; 22,500 Austrian prisoners have been taken since May 14, according to official Italian reports.

The sinking of a second Brazilian steamship by a German submarine, without warning, causes President Braz to recommend to Congress the seizure of German merchant shipping in Brazilian harbors.

May 27.—The Italians, in their offensive toward Trieste, cross the Timavo River and approach within a mile of Duino, their immediate seaport objective.

May 28.—The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies unanimously votes in favor of revoking neutrality and authorizing the seizure of German ships.

The Italian war mission holds its first conference with officials at Washington; it is understood that Italy seeks from the United States coal, iron, lumber, and machinery.

Industrial conditions in Russia are characterized by Minister of Finance Shingaroff as forcing

the country toward economic ruin; workers have adopted an eight-hour day and practically doubled wages, and it is estimated that factory production has decreased 40 per cent.

May 30.—The American armed oil steamer *Silvershell* exchanges sixty shots with a German submarine in the Mediterranean; the war vessel suddenly disappeared so suddenly as to warrant the belief that it was struck and destroyed.

May 31.—At the first session of the Austrian Reichsrat held since the war began, Emperor Charles declares that the Teutonic fighting spirit will not relax in the struggle for honor and existence; a conciliatory spirit is promised to enemies who abandon threats and seek to reopen more human relations; the Emperor pledges expansion of constitutional privileges.

British losses as announced during May total 27,390 killed and 86,728 wounded and missing; the casualty rate in the Arras offensive is thus shown to be less than that at the Somme in 1916, although larger forces are engaged.

## The First Week of June

June 1.—The fortress of Kronstadt, defending Petrograd, is taken over by the local Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, in opposition to the central government and the army.

June 2.—Grand Duke Nicholas (former commander of the Russian army, and a cousin of the deposed Czar) is reported under arrest at Tiflis, charged with participation in a royalist movement.

June 3.—It is announced from Washington that the United States mission to Russia, headed by Elihu Root, has arrived at a Russian (Pacific) port, and announced from Petrograd that the American railroad commission, headed by John F. Stevens, has arrived at Vladivostok.

June 4.—Gen. Alexis Brusiloff becomes commander-in-chief of Russia's armies, succeeding Gen. Michael V. Alexieff.

The arrival of an American squadron at Rio Janeiro, Brazil, is indirectly indicated by news dispatches.

June 4-5.—German naval bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend are bombarded at night by British warships.

June 5.—A German destroyer squadron is engaged by British destroyers and light cruisers, and one German vessel is sunk.

Eighteen German airplanes drop bombs on the English coast, east of London; 12 persons are killed.

The Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in a statement sent to Socialist and trades-union organizations throughout the world, renews its appeal (of March 28) for a peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 453 to 55, declares that peace terms must include restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and reparation for damage done to occupied territory.

An Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau, near Jamiano, results in severe losses to the Italians; the Austrians claim a total of 22,000 prisoners taken during the Italian offensive.

June 7.—Premier Borden's plan for a coalition ministry in Canada fails to receive support from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, leader of the Opposition, who would not accept the Government's compulsory-service proposal.

June 7.—In the greatest mine explosion of the war, the British blast away German positions on the Wytschaete-Messines Ridge, dominating Ypres from the south, and wipe out a bulge in the German line five miles across and three miles deep; 7,500 Germans and 47 guns are captured.

The Austrian counter-attack on the Carso Plateau is stopped by the Italians after three days; with reinforcements brought from the Russian front, the Austrians recapture one-third of the ground previously lost.

The Kronstadt "republic" yields to negotiations and recognizes the supreme authority of the Russian provisional government.

The U. S. collier *Jupiter* arrives at a French port with 10,500 tons of wheat and other supplies for American troops.

### *The Second Week of June*

June 9.—A communication from President Wilson to the provisional government of Russia is made public at Washington; he warns against the propaganda of a Germany facing defeat and states anew America's war aims, which include readjustments of power tending to secure the future peace of the world and the welfare of its peoples.

Major-General Pershing and his staff, on their way to France, are received by King George, who declares that it has been the dream of his life to see the two great English-speaking nations more closely united.

The United States lends \$3,000,000 to Serbia; the total to Allied governments reaches \$923,000,000.

June 10.—Italian efforts are suddenly shifted to the Trentino front, where Austrian positions are carried at three points, including a mountain 7,000 feet high.

June 11.—Premier Borden presents his compulsory military service bill in the Canadian House of Commons; men between 20 and 45 are to be enrolled and divided into ten classes, to be called in rotation; voluntary enlistments had failed recently to balance the wastage among the 400,000 men at the front.

Lord Northcliffe, the British newspaper editor, arrives in the United States to head a permanent War Mission in charge of industrial matters.

June 12.—King Constantine of Greece abdicates in response to the demands of England, France, and Russia (the three protecting powers of the Greek kingdom); his second son, Alexander, 24 years old, is selected to succeed him.

The American tank steamer *Moreni* is sunk by a German submarine, after a running fight lasting two hours.

June 13.—General Pershing and his staff arrive in Paris, to study new war conditions and to prepare the way for the first expedition of American troops.

A fourth German airplane raid over England within three weeks—and the most destructive of the entire war—results in the death of 104 persons in London and serious injury to 134.

The British official report of merchant shipping losses by submarine attacks shows an increase for the first time in five weeks.

June 14.—The German Zeppelin airship *L-43* is destroyed over the North Sea by British naval forces.

With an additional instalment of \$25,000,000, the total amount loaned by the United States Government to Great Britain reaches \$500,000,000.

### *The Third Week of June*

June 15.—Count Moritz Esterhazy forms a coalition ministry in Hungary.

Baron Rhonda (David A. Thomas, the coal operator) is appointed Food Controller in Great Britain, succeeding Baron Devonport.

The British Government decides to release all prisoners taken in the Irish rebellion of April, 1916.

The American mission to Russia is welcomed at Petrograd by the Provisional Government; Mr. Root declares that the triumph of German arms would mean not only the death of liberty in Russia but throughout the world.

June 16.—A proclamation of the Russian Provisional Government states that peace offers by Austria (through Prince Leopold of Bavaria, commander of the German armies on the Russian front) have been rejected as a scheme to disunite Russia from her allies and ruin her army.

June 17.—The Russian Duma votes in favor of "an immediate offensive in close coöperation with Russia's allies."

The German Zeppelin airship *Z-48* is destroyed by a British aviator after a bomb-dropping raid over the east coast of England.

The British evacuate positions in the Struma Valley region, on the Bulgarian front in Macedonia; it is reported that the movement is due to the dangerous climate during summer.

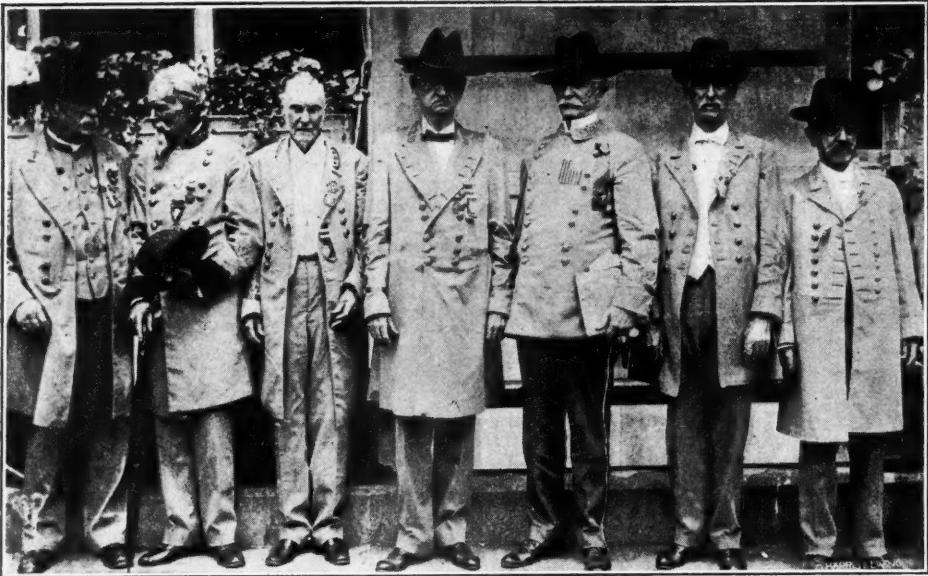
June 18.—Haiti severs diplomatic relations with Germany, having demanded and failed to receive guarantees for the safety of Haitian citizens in the submarine war zones.

A commission from Belgium to the United States (headed by Baron Ludovic Moncheur, former Minister) is received by President Wilson, who avows the determination of America that "on the inevitable day of victory Belgium shall be restored to the place she has so richly won among the self-respecting and respected nations of the earth."

June 19.—The Premier of Austria, Count Clam-Martinic, submits his resignation to Emperor Charles when the Polish party in the newly assembled Reichsrat refuses to vote for the war budget, and joins the Slav opposition.

The new Russian Minister, Boris Bakhetieff, and the members of a special war mission from the Provisional Government to the United States, arrive at Washington.

W. J. Hanna (recently Provincial Secretary in Ontario) is appointed Food Controller in Canada.



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#### DISTINGUISHED CONFEDERATE VETERANS AT THE ANNUAL REUNION, IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(For the first time, the Confederates held their reunion in "the North," and the occasion was a notable one. President Wilson made an address, in which he declared that "at the heart of the men of the North and South there was the same love of self-government and of liberty." In the group, from left to right, are: Rev. Jonathan W. Bachman, of Chattanooga, Chaplain-General; Surgeon D. J. Roberts, of Nashville; William E. Mickel, Adjutant-General of the veterans' organization since 1903; Major-Gen. George P. Harrison, Commander-in-Chief and a former member of Congress from Alabama; Col. James Dinkins, a prominent Louisiana banker and Confederate historian; Gen. G. H. Tichenor, and Dr. Benjamin S. Purse, of Savannah)

## RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

*(From May 21 to June 20, 1917)*

### PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS

May 22.—The Senate passes a bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department, to insure not only ships and cargoes but also crews; the bill is passed which increases the number of Interstate Commerce Commissioners from seven to nine and permits rulings by sub-divisions of the Commission. . . . In the House, a letter from the President is read, declaring it imperative that authority to exercise censorship over the press should be granted to the President.

May 23.—The House, by vote of 329 to 76, passes the War Taxation bill, estimated to yield \$1,857,000,000 annually in additional revenue.

May 28.—The Senate resolves to investigate shell and gun explosions on newly armed American merchant ships. . . . The House passes the first of the Administration's food bills, appropriating \$15,000,000 for a food survey or census, for distributing seeds, and for educational and demonstrational work to stimulate production and decrease waste.

May 31—The Senate adopts a drastic provision against the hoarding of food and other necessities, embodying it as an amendment to the Food Survey bill. . . . The House rejects the press censorship measure by vote of 184 to 144; the provision was included in the Espionage bill, which had been revived in conference committee under pressure from the Administration.

June 2.—The Senate adopts the first of the Ad-

ministration's food bills, providing for a survey of food and stimulation of crops.

June 12.—The Senate approves the Administration's Espionage bill, with a clause authorizing the President to use an embargo power against neutral countries in order to limit their importation of material likely to reach the enemy, and also to compel them to furnish in return articles needed by the Allies.

June 14-15.—In the Senate debate on the Railroad Control bill, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) and Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) criticize the tendency to centralize legislative powers in the executive.

June 16.—The Senate passes the measure empowering the President to enforce preferential shipment, in interstate commerce, of such commodities as he may from time to time designate.

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 19.—The President issues a statement of the Administration's food-control program, involving the creation of the office of Commissioner of Food Administration and the appointment of Herbert C. Hoover to that post.

May 22.—The Navy Department's preliminary report on shell accidents during practice fire on three armed steamships states that "they may be attributed to shells made prior to 1900."

May 25.—Major-General Goethals, managing director of the Government's ship-building activities, declares himself in favor of construct-

ing steel rather than wooden ships; he believes that 3,000,000 tons of steel ships can be turned out in eighteen months.

May 29.—A naval investigating board reports that the accident on the armed liner *Mongolia* was not due to defective gun or ammunition. . . . In a Congressional election in New Hampshire, Sherman E. Burroughs (Rep.) defeats Patrick H. Sullivan (Dem.) in a normally Republican district.

May 31.—The end of two months recruiting for the regular army shows 92,686 enlistments—approximately half of the number required on April 1 to bring the army to full war strength of 293,000.

June 5.—Nearly 10,000,000 young men between 21 and 30, inclusive, present themselves throughout the country for registration for war service; nowhere is there serious disturbance.

June 7.—In a formal report on food requirements, Mr. Herbert Hoover (who will possibly be Food Administrator for all the Allies) declares that the United States must export twice the normal quantity of cereals; home consumption must therefore be reduced by elimination of waste and by substitution of foods not suited for export.

June 15.—The director of the army aviation service recommends an expenditure of \$600,000,000 for a huge fleet of aircraft, capable of maintaining supremacy for fifty miles back of the German fighting lines. . . . Subscriptions for the first American war loan—the "Liberty Loan of 1917"—are closed, with the \$2,000,000,000 offering oversubscribed by \$750,000,000.

June 18.—The Census Bureau estimates that there are in the United States 4,662,000 persons born in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey.

June 19.—Announcement is made through the Department of Commerce that the President—impatient with delay of food-administration legislation in Congress—will immediately exercise his new powers under the embargo clause of the Espionage law and check extraordinary purchases by neutrals.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 23.—The President of China dismisses Premier Tuan Chi-jui, who had favored entering the war against Germany.

June 1.—Eleven provinces in China proclaim their independence and appoint Hsu-Shih-chang as Dictator and Wang Shih-chen as Premier.

June 5.—It is reported from Amoy, China, that the seceding provinces demand the dismissal of the National Assembly, a revision of the constitution, the reinstatement of Premier Tuan Chi-jui, and a declaration of war against Germany.

June 7.—The United States expresses to China the hope that political disputes will be set aside and government re-established so that the Chinese republic may proceed along the road to national development; entrance into the war is declared to be a matter of secondary importance.

June 9.—The Premier of Spain, Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto, tenders his resignation, having held office less than two months.

June 12.—Eduardo Dato forms a ministry in Spain, with the avowed purpose of observing

strict neutrality and devoting attention to economic problems.

June 13.—The Chinese Parliament is dissolved by the President.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 21.—Fire destroys 1,500 buildings in the residential section of Atlanta, Ga., the property damage amounting to \$3,500,000.

May 25-27.—Tornadoes sweeping across Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Alabama cause the death of nearly 300 persons.

May 29.—American exports for the year ending April 30 are officially announced as \$6,060,000,000, a 50 per cent. increase over last year and more than twice the total of any other year.

June 1.—Tornadoes in Kansas and Oklahoma cause much property damage and loss of life in small towns.

June 7.—San Salvador and several smaller towns in the republic of San Salvador are severely damaged by earth shocks accompanied by volcano eruption and torrential rains; the loss of life is small.

June 8.—Explosion and fire in a copper mine at Butte, Mont., cause the death of more than 140 workmen.

June 19.—Trading in cotton for future delivery, on the New York Cotton Exchange, reaches 27 cents a pound, the highest price since 1871.

#### OBITUARY

May 20.—Fredrich Achelis, recently president of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, 77.

May 22.—Dr. William A. Mowrey, a noted New England educator and editor, 88.

May 23.—Harry Lane, United States Senator from Oregon, 62. . . . Col. William Conant Church, editor of the *Army and Navy Journal*, 81. . . . Edward Cary, a veteran New York editorial writer, 77.

May 26.—Emmanuel Louis Masqueray, chief of design at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, 60.

May 28.—A. L. Keister, recently a Republican member of Congress from Pennsylvania, 65.

May 29.—Edouard de Reszke, the Polish grand opera basso, 62.

May 30.—Rear-Admiral John Henry Upshur, U. S. N., retired, 94. . . . William J. Lampson, a widely-known newspaper man and humorist, 52.

June 3.—Louis Gathmann, inventor of improvements in guns, explosive shells, and armor plate, 72.

June 4.—John M. Haines, recently Governor of Idaho, 54.

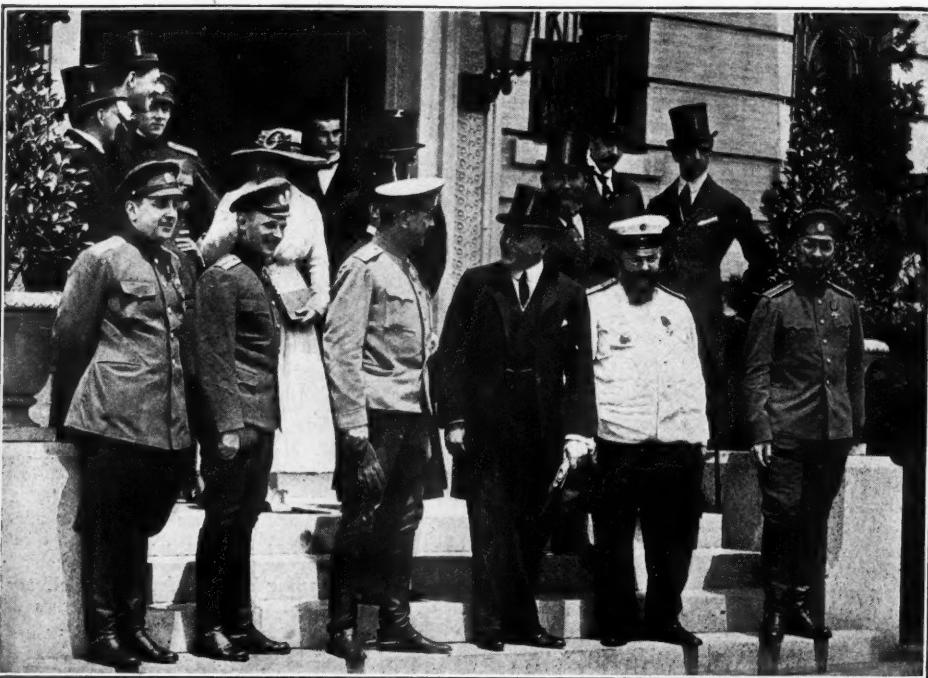
June 12.—Mme. Terese Carreno, a noted pianist, 63.

June 13.—Albert R. Savage, Chief Justice of the Maine Supreme Court, 70.

June 16.—Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese of Trenton, 67.

June 18.—Judson C. Clements, for twenty-five years a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 71.

# SOME WAR GROUPS



© by International Film Service, 1917

## THE RUSSIAN DIPLOMATIC AND WAR MISSION AT WASHINGTON

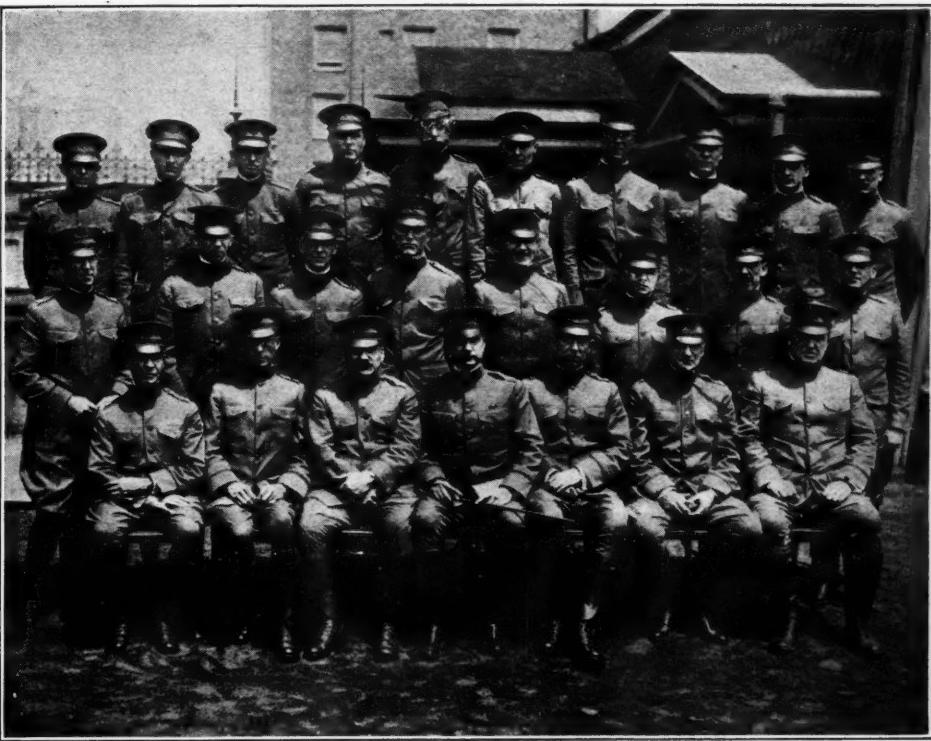
(Third from the left in front is Lieutenant General Roop, representative of the Russian Army; next, reading to the right, is Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmetieff, who heads the Mission, and Professor Lomonosoff, Member of the Council of Engineers and representative of the Ministry)



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## THE ITALIAN COMMISSION AT THE JOSEPH LEITER HOME IN WASHINGTON

Seated (left to right): Hon. Francesco Saverio Nitti, former Minister of Agriculture; Countess di Cellere, wife of the Italian ambassador; Fernando di Savoia, Prince of Udine and head of the commission; Ambassador di Cellere; Marquis Luigi Borsarelli, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Senator Guglielmo Marconi. Standing (left to right): a secret service man, Prof. Vincenzo De Santo; Cavaliere d'Amato, Lieut. Com. Kimmel; Lieut.-Col. Gilmore; Lieut. da Zara, aide to the prince; Signor di Sousa, secretary to Senator Marconi; Hon. Augusto Ciufelli, former Minister of Public Works; Lieut. Stephano Avonzo; Hon. Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Transportation; Cavaliere de Parente, secretary of the legation and secretary of the commission; J. P. Harrison, of the State Department, and Cavaliere Alvise Bragadin, secretary to Arlotta. The remaining two are secret service men.



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**THE JOHNS HOPKINS HOSPITAL UNIT, WHICH IS NOW AT WORK IN FRANCE**

(No medical school in America is more famous than that of the Johns Hopkins University, which is in association with the hospital that was endowed by the old Baltimore merchant, Johns Hopkins. Undoubtedly the Johns Hopkins unit now in France for hospital service, with Dr. Winford Smith, of Baltimore, at its head, will prove eminently worthy of Baltimore's fame in surgery and medicine)



Photograph by American Press Assn., N. Y.

**A GROUP OF AMERICAN RED CROSS NURSES SHORTLY AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND TO TAKE UP THEIR DUTIES IN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND AMERICAN HOSPITALS**

(They had just been reviewed by Queen Mary and Queen Alexandra)



Photo by Central News Photo Service

**PRINCETON STUDENTS TRAINING FOR WAR SERVICE**

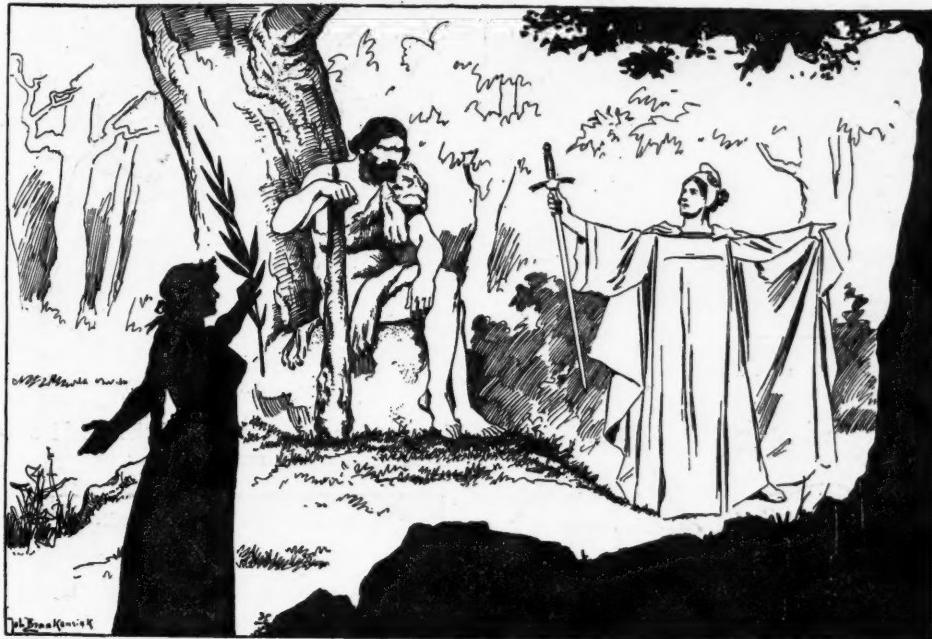
Many of the Princeton students who graduated on June 16 had already enlisted in different branches of the army and navy service. Most of the undergraduate body had for several months been taking regular military drill under Colonel Heintzelman of the regular army. Princeton has been so developed as to give trench digging practise under a Canadian officer, aviation teaching under experts, and various other special things besides infantry drill. The institution is to be headquarters for a large summer training camp for New Jersey boys)



Photo by Central News Photo Service

**THE DRAFT REGISTRATION IN NEW YORK CITY ON JUNE 5**  
(Waiting in line to register outside of a barber shop on Stanton Street)

# RUSSIA AND VARIOUS WAR TOPICS IN CARTOONS



THE CHOICE OF HERCULES

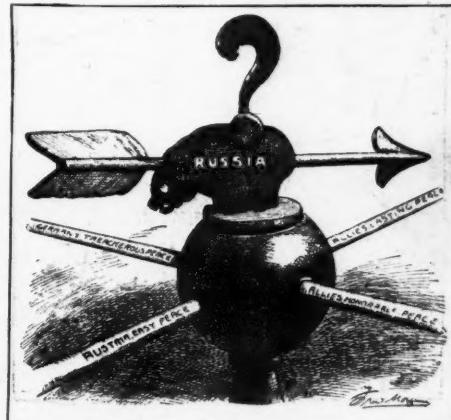
Russia at the Crossroads

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)



FIRST STEPS IN SELF-GOVERNMENT  
From the *World* (New York)

**R**USSIA—with her continuing struggle for a stable government, the paralysis of her army, and the uncertainty of her



WHICH WAY DOES THE WIND BLOW?  
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



FEELING BETTER  
From the *World* (New York)



HELPING HIM UP  
From the *News* (Newark)



SEDUCTION  
"Nice bear! Have a little sugar!"  
From *Le Gaulois* (Paris)



HAVING A LITTLE TROUBLE JUST WHEN HE WAS  
WITHIN SIGHT OF EASY GOING  
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



GOOD ADVICE  
THE DONKEY: "Be careful, Madam . . . for  
stomach so weakened through privation, so much food  
all at once might be harmful."

The various dishes being offered by Madam Revolution are "Universal Suffrage," "Liberty of the Press," "Constitutional Assembly," "Peasant's Freedom," "The Right to Strike," "Women Suffrage," "Military Grades Through Election."

From *Il Mulo* (Bologna)



THE MUTUAL BELT-TIGHTENING  
From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

The "belt-tightening" process among the belligerents, particularly Germany and Great Britain, will doubtless continue as long as

the British blockade remains effective and the German U-boats maintain their present rate of destruction.



ANGERED NEPTUNE  
"I can't find peace either on or below the waters."  
From *Wahre Jakob* (Stuttgart)

July—3



JOHN BULL AND THE GERMAN U-BOAT  
"I clean and clean but can't wipe out this 'U' from the alphabet. It gets bigger and bigger!"  
From *Der Brummer* © (Berlin)



WILSON AND ROOSEVELT HAVE THEIR MILLIONS—  
ON PAPER

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



WILSON: "WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THIS PROJECTILE?"

From *Il 420* (Florence)



WILSON, PAST AND PRESENT  
He was formerly a measured speaker with a pious demeanor, but now he can outdo the most violent demagogue)

From the *Hvepsen* (Christiania)



THE HOT PEACE SOUP  
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE YANKEE CAT FISHING  
(Meaning, of course, that the United States is attempting to draw South American countries from their neutral position)

From *La Union* (Valparaiso, Chile)

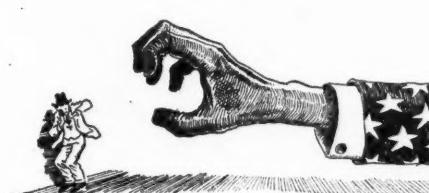
Cartoons from the few remaining neutral countries are particularly interesting when they endeavor to interpret America's part in the war. *Nebelspalter*, of Switzerland, apparently scorns our potential fighting forces as being a "paper" army; *Hvepsen*, of Norway, pays its respects to President Wilson and *La Union*, of Chile, thinks we are angling for South American allies.



"WELL DONE"  
From the *Evening Journal* (New York)

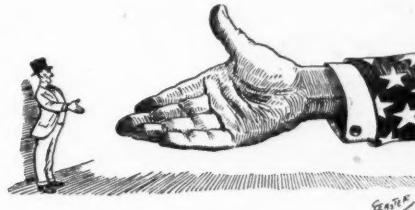


THE END OF A PERFECT DAY  
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



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THE DRAFT—IT'S ALL IN THE WAY YOU SEE IT  
From the *Pioneer Press* (Saint Paul)



"OUR COUNTRY 'TIS OF THEE"  
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)



© 1917, by John T. McCutcheon  
THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL  
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



A QUESTION OF METHOD  
From the *Tribune* (New York)

"John Barleycorn" is still awaiting his fate. Congress has been considering prohibition of the liquor traffic as a war measure, but exactly how much prohibition there



FOLLOWING THE BLAZED TRAIL  
From the *News* (Dayton)

should be has not been decided. Drastic censorship of the press has wisely been eliminated from the espionage bill as finally passed. Federal control of food and other resources, and the operation of railroads by the Government, are also among the wartime possibilities.



TRYING TO MUZZLE THE WRONG DOG  
From the *Times* (New York)



ALL IN FAVOR SAY "AYE"  
From the *Knickerbocker Press* (Albany)



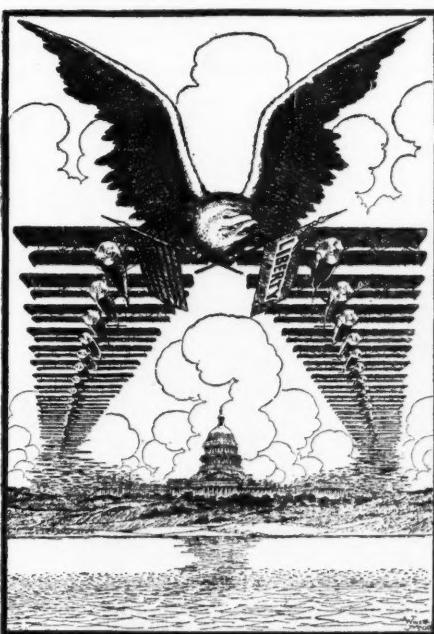
ARRIVING  
From the *Evening News* (Newark)

General Pershing's arrival in Europe last month caused much rejoicing on the part of our Allies. His presence was concrete evidence of America's coming participation in the actual fighting. Our most substantial



© 1917, by The Press Publishing Co.  
"WE'LL PLAY OUR PART"  
From the *Evening World* (New York)

contribution to the cause would, however, be an overwhelming fleet of airplanes, and the speedy application of American genius to the defeat of the German submarines.



© 1917, International News Service  
THE FLEET WE NEED!  
Give Uncle Sam the mastery of the air, and he will soon win the mastery of the battlefields!  
From the *American* (New York)



TRUST SAM TO CLEAN THEM OUT  
From the *News* (Dayton)



FIFTY-FIFTY  
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



"I REMEMBER THOSE BOYS WHEN THEY BOTH HAD GOOD JOBS" From the *World* (New York)



KING FOX'S FUNK-HOLE  
King Fox (Ferdinand, of Bulgaria) is taking no personal risks, but the outlook from his funk-hole is not very reassuring. From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)



JOHN BULL: "GO AS FAR AS YOU LIKE, MY DEAR!" From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



PEACE CHESTNUTS  
From the *News* (Dallas)



BILL'S SISTER'S HUSBAND'S TROUBLES  
From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

# THE WAR WAITS ON AMERICA

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. THE GREAT PAUSE

THE present month will see the end of the third year of the world war. As we approach the new milestone is there any promise of peace? Certainly not in the events of June, for that month has been marked by a pause, which can only suggest that the great offensive operations of the spring have failed to give any promise of a decision in 1917.

Last month there was plain evidence that the French offensive had failed to attain any but local results. The British operation about Arras continued, but was no longer an immediate threat to German positions on the whole western front. Since that time the Italian offensive has followed the course of the French—it has passed its crest, has been beaten down by an Austrian counter-offensive and come to a dead halt.

We have had the brilliant and locally successful British blow, which constitutes the Third Battle of Ypres, but this, for reasons which I shall set forth in a moment, seems rather an indication of a prolongation of the war than a speedy determination. As I see it, the British, finding that they were unlikely to achieve great results at Arras and change thereby the whole German position in the West, made a splendid attack to enable them to hold the Ypres Salient at less cost to themselves. Third Ypres is comparable, to my mind, with the French operations about Verdun last year, which were to give them elbow room, not to break the German lines.

And save for Ypres, we have had no major operation in the West up to June 20. Bear in mind that the weather is good, the season for a great campaign in full swing, and that the campaign of the spring opened with great local triumphs, and it is plain that the pause is significant.

It means, I think, that the Allies have recognized that there can be no decision this year, that with Russia out of the war for the present Germany is still strong enough to hold her western lines and enforce casualties that make a grand general attack, such as the French essayed between Soissons and

Louvain, a thing if not absolutely impossible, inadvisable, under present circumstances.

We may accept the statement of French and British military authorities that they have deprived the Germans of all chance of making a western offensive this year as probably correct. This is the real achievement of the British and French attacks. They have consumed German reserves in great quantities, perhaps in sufficient numbers to keep the Germans on the defensive in the West. Not improbably the Italians have done the same in the case of Austria.

But, on the other hand, we may accept the German assertion that their position in the West has, despite local fractures, endured the great storm of the Anglo-French attack. The preparations of more than six months have not sufficed to permit the Allies to get a decision in the West, for the very simple reason that German numbers and munitions remain adequate to hold the western front.

In my judgment, we shall not see this year any renewal by the French and British of a combined and grandiose effort—not to break through the German lines at a given point, to be sure, but so to weaken German numbers and positions as to compel a wide retirement immediately. Only a great Russian offensive would seem to justify the new trial, and I do not expect such an offensive.

We shall see, I believe, one or two more blows like that struck at Arras and that later delivered at Ypres, one quite probably about La Bassée. The Arras blow was so successful at the outset that it led the British forward into a sustained effort profitable because of the losses imposed upon the Germans, but bringing no subsequent progress to warrant insistence.

On the other hand, the Ypres blow, like those of the French last year at Verdun, was a brilliant, complete and rapid achievement of a local objective; it gave the British an admirable position; it turned the Germans out of one of the best positions on the whole front and it resulted in the capture of prisoners and guns and the demoralization of a section of the enemy front—temporary, but of permanent moral value.

Remember that the British have now to their credit a long series of local successes. They have in the last year captured at least 75,000 German prisoners, probably nearer 100,000, with a loss of less than 10,000 prisoners themselves. They have taken between 400 and 500 guns without losing a single piece, and they have driven the Germans back at all points when they have attacked. They have established an artillery superiority frankly conceded by the Germans.

And here, for the present, it would seem the western situation must stand. It is waiting, I believe, for the arrival of sufficient American troops to give the Allies in the West that numerical superiority in reserves necessary to bear the great losses incident to a general, sustained offensive like the Somme, which cost the British and the French not less than 750,000 killed and wounded, and the Germans between 600,000 and 700,000.

To me the present pause means that the French and British High Commands have definitely laid aside all thought of a victory—a decision—in 1917 and mean, aside from local attacks designed to improve their positions and drive the Germans out of high land and down to the plain, as at Arras and Ypres, to await another year—and America.

This means that the British are satisfied that the submarine menace will not win the war. It must mean that they are convinced that, despite great losses, it will not bring starvation this year or next. It must mean that the Allies believe they can face the hazards of another year of war better than the colossal expense in lives and an effort to get a decision this year, with Russia out and America unready.

Unless all signs fail, American troops will be in the battle line when the real great advance begins. The arrival of General Pershing in France last month is the first sign. We have been promised by the Administration that an American division will follow soon.

But it will be a case of many divisions. We should have, to play any useful part next summer, at least half a million men on the western line. And if the war goes into 1919—as now seems probable—we shall need a million. For this, I think, the French and British will wait. France, looking to the future, to the continued existence of the race, can make no more great sacrifices. Even the British are beginning to face the problem of men. When we come they will do their full share, but until we come neither will

dare to make great payments in human life for small gains.

## II. RUSSIAN PUZZLES

And in all this we see clearly the meaning of the Russian collapse. It has freed Germany's eastern armies and enabled the Germans to meet the spring storm in the West and survive. It has enabled Austria to recall many divisions and check the Italians on the Carso.

I do not pretend to read the riddle which is the Russian situation of to-day. But such accounts as we have indicate that on the merely military side the Russian army has been disorganized to such an extent that it would be vain to hope that it will win new victories this year.

A good deal of nonsense has of late been written about the French Revolutionary armies and this nonsense has given rise to the notion that what happened in the days of the French Revolution might happen now. That is, that like the French armies the Russians might win great victories speedily.

The truth is that the French Revolutionary armies were defeated again and again for a long period. They were defeated by much smaller professional armies of their enemies and they only escaped destruction because Carnot, a supreme organizing genius, employed conscription and continued to turn out vast numbers of men, who slowly learned discipline and developed commanders. This took several years—the process was not really completed when Napoleon appeared, and while he was in Egypt the Revolutionary armies were defeated everywhere.

Russian armies may be reorganized in a far shorter time than were the French, but it is wholly improbable that they will be useful this year or efficient next in the best possible political circumstances—and we have no right to assume that such circumstances will exist in 1918 or 1919.

The Russian Revolution may easily turn out to be the greatest single incident in the present war. It may have consequences for human progress, it may bring new ideals and new ideas which will change the world as did the French. It may, on the other hand, bring chaos and confusion in Russia and eliminate Russia as a factor in foreign affairs for a quarter of a century. All discussion of Russian affairs is pure guesswork.

But to writers on the military situation the Russian puzzle is simple in the extreme.

The Revolution has put the Russian army out of the reckoning for a long time. Without the Russian army, the French, British, and Italian forces cannot crush Germany and Austria, or, if they can, it will only be at a cost in human life which will have an effect upon all these countries for generations.

Before this task the three western allies in Europe have paused. They are assured now of the aid of another great nation—greater than any one of them in human reserves. Since Russia has collapsed, they have no choice but to wait for the American arrival—and this is the reason why Europe to-day says quite frankly that the war waits upon America—it will end when we are able to take a potent rôle—to send over hundreds of thousands to the Western front.

### III. THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES

When the French made their splendid dash from Verdun in December of last year it was explained as an operation to give the Verdun garrison "more air." In a sense the British attack at Ypres was the same. It was not an attempt to break the German lines; it was not a sustained offensive in the way the Somme affair was. It was purely local and restricted—but as such it compares favorably with the French exploit at Verdun, which was a high-water mark in scientific warfare of the trench type.

To explain this British "show," to use the term of the British army for a military operation, it is necessary to go back to the familiar story of the other Ypres fights and to illustrate it I have drawn the accompanying diagram. At the close of the first battle of Ypres, that is, in November, 1914, the British occupied a very wide circle in front of Ypres, but between Ypres and Armentières the Germans had driven in a deep wedge which extended westward of the ruined villages of Messines and Wytschaete, villages lost by the British in this battle.

The second battle of Ypres, in April, 1915, did not much affect the situation on the front south of Ypres to Armentières. On the north the British were forced to retreat materially and this narrowed the whole salient. But the fighting was north and west, and with very little change the southern and eastern lines had stood since the Prussian guard failed in its supreme effort in November, 1914.

The position of the British was, on their

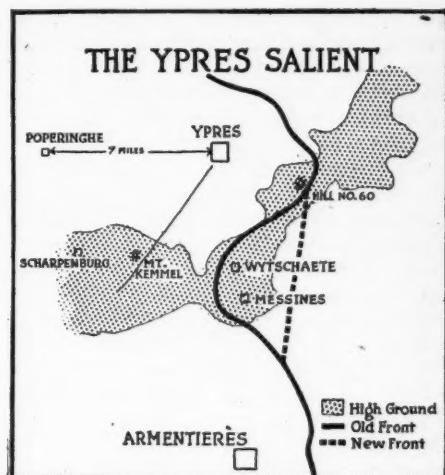


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE THIRD BATTLE OF YPRES

part, difficult in the extreme. A glance at this diagram discloses the fact. The Germans had succeeded in wresting from the British all the high ground from the point of the Ypres salient southward. From this high ground they had direct view of the two roads available for the British into the salient, the Dickiburt road and the Poperinghe road.

From their position the Germans looked down on the rear and upon the lines of communication of their foes. Entering Ypres by daylight was a hazardous feat and automobiles speeded over the road under shell fire, while even at night the roads were systematically "watered." Ypres itself was only about three miles from the Germans on the high ground. Unwisely the British had no direct vision behind the German lines. Their observation points were on Mt. Kemmel and Scharpenburg Hill southwest of Ypres.

Actually the German position has been accurately described as resembling the tiers of stadium benches from which an audience looks down upon a football game. Like the players the British were far down, but unlike football players their operations were greeted not by cheers but by shells.

On the whole Western front Ypres was the worst position. And because of this there has been going on ever since November, 1914, a bitter controversy in the British army as to whether Ypres should be held or evacuated. To evacuate it and fall back to the ridge which has Kemmel and Scharpen-

burg as its two summits would be to get out of a bad position, costing many casualties a week and having no military value, and to stand on a strong position with the Germans in the plain—for they would have to follow the British retreat.

As in the case of Verdun the moral value outweighed the military. Because they had paid so much to hold Ypres the British recognized the moral victory the Germans would win by laying hands upon the ashes of the old Flemish town—for of Ypres there is nothing left but the walls of the old town jail.

So week after week and month after month the British hung on at Ypres. The "Wipers" salient, as the British call it, was held and the expense in life, which was great, was borne by the successors of that little regular army, the flower of which sleeps on the slope of the hills which were just beyond the German lines.

But if there were to be no retreat, then it was essential that there should be a change of front, that the Germans should be pushed off the highland as Nivelle had pushed them back from the shores of the Douaumont plateau before Verdun. A try had been made in the spring of 1915, when Hill No. 60 had been taken. But the German attack a few days later, when "poison gas" was first employed, had so shaken the whole British line that Hill No. 60 had been given up, and the crest, little more than a mine crater, was left in German hands.

This situation, well-nigh intolerable for the British, endured right down to June, 1917. The Germans in all this time concentrated their guns on the British lines of communication and their efforts on fortifying the high ground, the Messines Ridge of the despatches, until their defenses rivaled those of Vimy Ridge, although the hills themselves are neither as high nor as advantageous for military purpose.

Such was the situation on the eve of the third battle of Ypres, and all preparations made by the British had been made under the eyes of the Germans, who were clearly cognizant of what was coming and had every opportunity to prepare and every natural advantage in their favor.

#### IV. THE END OF THE YPRES SALIENT

Notwithstanding all the warning and opportunity, the Germans were overwhelmed by the British artillery fire and swept off the

Messines Ridge far more rapidly than other German divisions had lost Vimy Ridge. Two weeks of artillery preparation, followed on the moment of attack by the explosion of great mines under Hill No. 60, which was transformed quite literally into "Hole No. 60," preceded the attack.

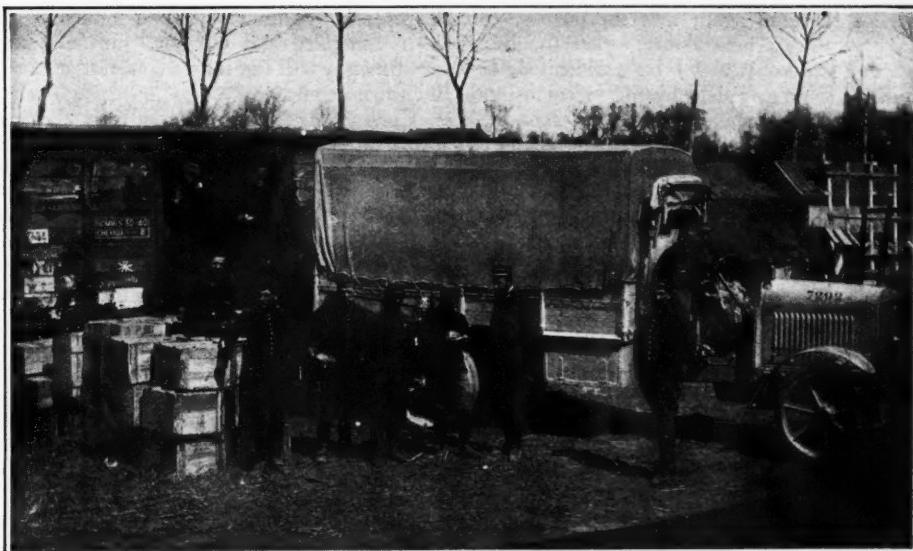
Then, before four o'clock in the morning, the British sprang forward on a front of nine miles from the point of the Ypres Salient almost to Armentières, and in a few brief hours the Germans were cleared off the Messines Ridge and the famous Ypres Salient, born in the desperate hours of October, 1914, when a handful of British troops saved Europe, ceased to exist.

When the British rush was over the new line ran straight south from the point of the old Salient, from the east side of Hill No. 60, in fact, to a point north of Armentières, when it met the old line. All the high ground of the ridge, as well as the ruins of Wytschaete and Messines, was in British hands; nearly 7500 prisoners and about fifty guns were also gathered in, and the British casualties were comparatively slight.

Instead of sitting in the stadium seat and looking down on their foes the Germans were now in the plain; they no longer had a direct vision at the Ypres roads. More than this, their position was made difficult because they were enclosed on three sides: toward the west by the British front, toward the north by the Ypres-Comines canal, toward the south by the Lys River.

The next few days following the sweep British patrols pushed forward almost to the Lys at Warrenton, and there was no German reaction before that which slowed down the British offensive after the taking of the Vimy Ridge and the Monchy plateau along the Scarpe. Actually the battle was over in a day—like the Verdun operation. All the British sought to achieve had been achieved and they now possessed all the advantageous positions in the Ypres sector, as they had seized similar positions before Arras.

A local retirement of the Germans behind the Lys River and the Comines Canal is suggested by despatches as I write these lines, but it will have only local meaning. It will not mean any new threat to Lille; it will not mean any opening for a further British drive. The work of the First British Army, commanded by General Plumer, was complete when its divisions had reached the foot of the eastern slopes of the Messines Ridge.



Photograph by Jacques Boyer, Paris

UNLOADING MUNITIONS FOR THE FRENCH ARMY AT A CONCENTRATION STATION



Photo from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE HARBOR OF BREST, FRANCE, THE PROBABLE PORT FOR AMERICAN TROOPS BOUND FOR  
THE FRENCH FRONT

(In the foreground is shown a French warship. In the middle distance is the turning bridge. Brest has about ten thousand acres of harbor, a good depth of water, and all the drydocks, naval repair shops, and shipbuilding facilities that go with the principal naval port of France)

Bear in mind again that the purposes of the attack were purely local—that the British, for reasons which I have indicated, desired some ground held by the Germans and in popular vernacular "went and took it," and the meaning of the Third Battle of Ypres is patent. It was a defensive-offensive—as such one of the most brilliant of the whole war. But it was nothing more and to interpret it as an attempt to break the German lines or to get to Lille is, I believe, to misinterpret it absolutely.

## V. KING CONSTANTINE GOES

The abdication of Constantine in mid-June surprised few familiar with recent events. Actually the fate of the Kaiser's brother-in-law was sealed when the Germans failed to come south after their Rumanian triumphs of last year. To these triumphs the Hellenic king had contributed. His threat in the rear of Sarrail's army had prevented it from penetrating into Serbian Macedonia. He had surrendered Kavala and the whole Trans-Struma district to the Bulgars; he had turned over to them guns and munitions.

Probably he planned also to strike Sarrail while German troops, led by Mackensen, came south against Salonica, but Mackensen did not come, and Constantine was left to face the foes whose defeat he had sought. Always thereafter his fate was sealed.

But to the last he found a strong supporter in the Czar, and only when the Russian Revolution removed this sovereign was Constantine actually friendless. Some day the story of the Greek episode will supply one of the amazing royal romances of history. Originally, when Constantine betrayed Serbia, the French sought his removal, but the royal families of Britain and Russia objected.

When Lloyd George came into power British influence joined French in seeking the removal of Constantine, but Russia's veto held. At the Rome Conference last winter Italy joined France and Great Britain; then came the Russian Revolution and now Constantine has abdicated, his eldest son has been eliminated, and Alexander—pro-ally, not pro-German—has succeeded to the throne.

The time has passed when such a change would materially affect the eastern campaign. Granted that a new election brings Venizelos back to power, it will be years before the Greek army, still filled with officers loyal to

Constantine or under German influence, can be reorganized and put into the field, and even then it will not number more than 250,000 men at best.

Conceivably Alexander will in the end prove an experiment as unfortunate as all previous Allied experiments in Greece—but if he stands with the Allies there will be an end of anxiety and danger due to the threat of an attack in the rear; the Allied position in the Balkans will be established firmly; Greece will become, like Portugal, a minor ally of the enemies of Germany.

But will Greece be saved by the change? I believe this is a detail that should attract attention in official Washington. To-day Italy has overrun Hellenic Epirus. Janina was occupied last month. At the Rome conference Sonino talked to Briand of Italian claims upon Corsica. Last winter Italy annexed Rhodes and the Dodecanesus, the Twelve Islands of the Eastern Egean, Greek by race, history, and aspiration.

Unless Greece finds a powerful champion now, she may lose much that is hers by every right invoked by the Allies in this war.

Venizelos, it seems, is the one man capable of saving Greece. Has he been sacrificed by Allied blundering? We shall probably see before very long. As it stands Greece has lost Epirus and the Kavala district, the Salonica district is held by Sarrail's army, and several Egean islands are occupied by Allied forces.

Of Constantine it is fair to say that, having to choose between two rival groups, he made his decision for the Germans not merely because of relationship, but because he believed—German-trained soldier that he was—that the Germans would win. Had he chosen for the Allies, the Serbs would have been saved. His honor was engaged, but he believed his safety, the safety of his country, was more important than fine points of honor.

The bitterness in Allied capitals against Constantine—the "Tino" of the cartoonists and paragraphers—has been very great. Certainly he has not been an heroic figure or played a splendid rôle. Yet those who have dealt with him have shown neither intelligence nor decision. His going is now little more than a sordid minor tragedy.

And with the minor tragedy of the King there is the greater tragedy of the race. To Greece the Allies offered Smyrna and that Asiatic littoral—Hellenic by race since the far-off days when a Persian King came to

Marathon because of Greek settlements on the shores of Asia Minor. To this proffer Britain added the Island of Cyprus, also Greek by race. Here was the promise of the Greece that for centuries had lived in Hellenic hearts. This has gone to dust and ashes now. Perhaps the Greece of 1914 may be saved. More cannot now be hoped for, even if Venizelos comes back and wins.

As for Constantine, the fate of Albert of Belgium filled him with terror and he sought to escape it—but he is now in a worse position than the Belgian King, who has a few miles of his kingdom, an army and the hearts of his people, together with strong allies, while Constantine, at best, may hope for a palace in Berlin after the war on a pension, if Germany is able to pension exiled kings.

But, as I said earlier this year, I do not believe the Balkan field will see any great activity this year. Russia's collapse has relieved Bulgar divisions; German and Austrian stiffening remains and Sarrail's army is not strong enough—at least until the Greek situation clears up—to risk a general offensive from the Gulf of Valona to the mouth of the Struma.

## VI. ITALY

Last month I noted the beginning of an Italian offensive on the Julian front. Between Gorizia and the sea this operation became the most considerable of Italian efforts and British heavy artillery contributed to initial successes. Most of these successes, the better part of the several square miles of difficult territory gained, were retained when the Austrians launched a heavy counter attack.

But under this attack the Italian advance stopped as the British had between Lens and Bullecourt on the Arras front. Men and guns were taken—nearly 30,000 prisoners in all. But the Austrians claimed an equal bag of prisoners, and by the first days of June it was plain Trieste was not in immediate danger and the Italian effort was over—for the time being.

The Austrian counter-offensive was made possible by the Russian situation. Division after division of troops arrived from the Galician front and these new divisions, arriving when the first strength of the Italian blow was spent, turned the scale. Austria was still able to find men to halt Italy—as Germany had found men to check both French and British attempts.

As I write these lines there is the report

of a fresh Italian effort along the Trentine front—small but interesting gains. Yet I do not think this is more than an effort to forestall an Austro-German attack later in the year by the Trentine, an attack like that made by the Austrians alone in the Verdun time and pushed across the Italian frontier almost to the Venetian Plain. In my judgment such an offensive will be made by the Central Powers later in the summer, if they can possibly risk it. It will be a bid for a moral victory like that achieved in Rumania last year. It will be designed to counteract the effect of local defeats in France and it will seek to give Germany new prestige on the eve of a new campaign for peace which will certainly come with the snow.

There is also a profound German conviction that a real Italian disaster would lead to an Italian Revolution, like the Russian and having equally serious consequences for the foes of the Central Powers. I do not know whether there is any solid basis for such a conviction—but it exists and will—I am satisfied—be acted upon if Germany feels able to strike in the fall.

## VII. 1918 OR 1919?

I had hoped to discuss in this article the growing conviction in Europe that next year will not see the end of the war. A year ago I told my readers, here, that the best judgment in Europe regarded a four years' war as certain. No one in Paris or London, or for that matter in Washington, now well informed, expects the war will be shorter than four years.

But 1919 is now becoming more and more a possibility. The belief that American aid is indispensable to a real defeat of Germany goes hand in hand with the belief that America cannot be ready next year, that we shall take as long as the British to get large and well-equipped armies to France. The Battle of the Somme opened just twenty-three months after the outbreak of the world war. Twenty-three months from April of this year would mean March, 1919. And it was only at the Somme, that the "new" British armies began—it took another year to learn the lesson which has made the victories of Arras and Third Ypres possible.

At all events one can no longer say that an extension of the war to and through the summer of 1919 is impossible or highly improbable. And this is unmistakable proof of how far we have traveled since 1914.



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood

**PARIS HOLDS FÊTE AT THE WASHINGTON STATUE IN HONOR OF AMERICAN ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR**  
(Great crowd gathered around the George Washington Statue on the Place d'Iéne, Paris, attentive to the address being made by an orator who paid great homage and honor to the United States)



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood

**"AMERICA DAY" IN LONDON: CIVIL WAR VETERANS WHO JOINED IN THE PARADE**  
(A group of American Civil War veterans in London attracted considerable attention when they paraded through the streets to St. Paul's Cathedral, to attend the service in honor of America's joining the Allies)

# WAR PROFITS TO PAY FOR THE WAR

AMERICA'S first great war task is to raise money, partly by bond issues, partly by taxes.

The first loan closed successfully on June 15.

The making of a War Revenue bill, prescribing the new taxes, was begun by Mr. Kitchin's sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee of the House in April last; the bill was passed on May 23. Since then the Senate Finance Committee has been engaged in practically redrafting it along less unscientific lines, with omissions or radical changes of many items, some merely vexatious, others heavily burdensome and still others dangerous to industry and more or less futile for revenue purposes.

Business men affected by destructive proposals in the House bill hurried to Washington, pleading their willingness to contribute to the nation's need, but begging Congress not to interfere with the processes of their industries in ways that would curtail productive operations and hamper their efforts to be of service.

The committees of the House engaged on the Revenue bill refused to give hearings and the Democratic floor leader announced that he would vote for it "with his eyes shut."

But many individual members of House and Senate were interviewed, and the Senate Finance Committee itself gave repeated courteous audiences to the representatives of interests justly or unjustly alarmed and aggrieved.

But even where the objections were well supported, such interviews usually ended with this inquiry: "But where are we to get the money? We have to raise so much; we counted on getting so much of it from you people. If it doesn't come from you, whom is it to come from?"

Thus business men have been forced to consider where this war revenue should come from. And after very little consideration the answer was plain—so obvious that for some time those who saw it could scarcely believe it to be the true answer; could scarcely believe that even with their "eyes shut" Mr. Kitchin and his associates failed to see it.

In its laborious framing of schedules to raise a billion and a half dollars (in the House, a billion eight hundred million) toward paying the year's war expenses, Congress has been debating whether a few million dollars can be raised here and a few million more raised there by special taxes on the processes of business. These are found on even surface investigation, in many cases, to bear unevenly and inequitably on different concerns and different industries, and to endanger the all-necessary productivity and industrial activity of the nation by strangling certain branches of business.

But, until weeks after the House bill had actually been passed no adequate attention was given to the one great natural reservoir of distinctively war revenue—the business profits, almost unbelievable in size, *for which the war is responsible*.

Congress has been talking about mere millions, the taking of which will in many cases produce hardship, injustice, and depression, when there are scores of millions literally crying to be taken, which ought in every moral sense to be taken, which are ready to be given, and which the nation will sooner or later have to take—if not quietly and decently now, later on with force and fury.

To make the case even clearer, we have the object-lesson of Great Britain seeing from the first the essential rightness of this method of raising the most important fraction of her war revenue. We see the process working well with her, the money being furnished with the least confusion, evasion, and discontent.

Finally, the really big men at the head of "big business" in America, the very men who would be called on most heavily for such war profits, are strongly for it. Their sense of duty and propriety calls for it and their intelligent selfishness demands it. For it is coming, and far better that it should come before a time that may arrive when hundreds of thousands of American boys have been killed, when the pinch of war is felt here, when people are, perhaps, hungry and unfed—and a few are in possession of billions of dollars of profits which would not

have been but for the war, and which have not been properly levied on for the war.

Mr. Otto Kahn, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., one of those far-sighted leaders of "big business" who are asking that the Government should come to them and take the money which ought to pay for the war—assumes that for the year 1917 there will be war-stimulated profits in excess of the average profits of the three years preceding our entry into the conflict amounting to \$2,000,000,000.

He advocates a 40 per cent. tax on this excess. The resulting \$800,000,000 can be taken without one hundredth part of the hardship that would be caused by a typical device for raising one-fortieth of that sum in the bill passed by the House of Representatives.

Heads of the other very largest groups of business and financial interests admit the righteousness, expediency, and effectiveness of such a tax and advocate it. A representative of very large interests suggests a rate of 40 per cent. the first year, 60 per cent. the second and 80 per cent. the third year, if the war should last so long.

Here, then, are the people in control of the great bulk of these war profits earnestly arguing for the tax. Here is the money that Congress needs to take; here is every moral and business reason arrayed on the side of making the excess war profits tax the base unit in the whole revenue scheme.

It is true that there was a clause in the House bill providing for a sort of excess profits tax—an impost of 16 per cent. on all profits over 8 per cent. earned during 1917.

Aside from the loose wording and vagueness of the measure, it was inequitable in more than one way. In the first place it put a premium on inflated stock issues—the larger the stock issue, the larger the exemption. Conversely, it penalized business with conservative or nominal stock issues. In the second place, instead of bringing the impact of the tax on war profits, it put a burden on businesses that had actually suffered by the war where these earnings, though reduced, were, nevertheless, large in proportion to capitalization.

This would have brought severe hardship to tens of thousands of people who had invested in securities of old, established, highly prosperous concerns at prices conforming to traditional high earnings.

Finally, and most important, the defective principle embodied in the House bill did not

get the needed money. Only a little more than \$200,000,000 was expected from it.

Nor would it have been practicable to raise a much larger sum by increasing the rate. It can be seen at a glance that by applying the true principle, by segregating war profits proper, a rate of taxation can be applied which would be in its manifold hardships entirely out of the question in any such defective plan based on the mere arbitrary exemption of a certain percentage of profit.

In the excess war profits plan there would be a minimum of hardship—it is probably safe to say there would be no hardship at all.

For, see the vastness of the earnings peculiar to the period of war. On the opposite page are the officially reported earnings of only 104 industrial companies, those that make public record of their profits, for the five years from 1912 to 1916, inclusive.

Bear in mind that these are only 104, though, generally speaking, the most important, out of thousands of concerns with profits enhanced, directly or indirectly, by the accident of war.

The best authorities agree that the earnings of 1917 will, provided unwise taxation does not hamper and constrict industry, exceed the figures of 1916.

It is plain that even a 40 per cent. tax levied on the excess that the earnings of 1917 show, say, over the average of 1914, 1915 and 1916, or a smaller rate on the excess over the average of the five years, would still leave most of these concerns with profits that would never have been dreamed of but for war-stimulated activity. The tax takes only a part of their war surplus and abundance.

A great war, more particularly the greatest of wars, inevitably separates industries into two groups, one stricken, the other enriched, and often vastly enriched, by the cataclysm.

Which should stand the cost of the war?

It is obvious that only the second group can go far in defraying the cost. It is equally true, though not so obvious, that a serious danger to the success of the war lurks in any considerable addition to the burdens of the industries that have already suffered. In 1913 eminent economists could and did prove that a world war could not be fought for two years with the gigantic demands of modern war financing. They showed that the stored-up capital of the world was not sufficient to stand the strain, and they were right.

But a greater conflict than they premised has gone on for nearly three years, and may

## NET INCOME OF LEADING INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS FOR FIVE YEARS

|   | 1916            | 1915             | 1914          | 1913          | 1912          |
|---|-----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 29 Steel, Munition and Machinery Concerns...    | \$596,236,644   | \$219,074,280    | \$69,365,568  | \$155,860,222 | \$121,665,049 |
| 4 reporting only 4 years...                     | 22,417,927      | 7,902,793        | 2,764,020     | 2,168,991     |               |
| 1 " " 3 "                                       | 3,165,020       | 1,078,352 (Def.) | 25,068        |               |               |
| 4 " " 2 "                                       | 50,823,775      | 10,053,874       |               |               |               |
| 3 " " 1 "                                       | 7,103,144       |                  |               |               |               |
| 12 Copper, Zinc, etc., Mining Concerns....      | 225,446,026     | 96,765,662       | 31,041,951    | 59,890,500    | 65,652,362    |
| 1 reporting only 4 years...                     | 8,873,445       | 9,125,947        | 1,417,128     | 942,988       |               |
| 1 " " 3 "                                       | 4,674,467       | 3,489,965        | 1,547,276     |               |               |
| 1 " " 2 "                                       | 27,661,713      | 6,587,052        |               |               |               |
| 5 Petroleum Concerns...                         | 46,175,027      | 23,255,102       | 21,977,798    | 24,247,091    | 16,307,684    |
| 3 reporting only 4 years...                     | 75,053,369      | 37,141,942       | 15,267,584    | 34,634,913    |               |
| 2 " " 3 "                                       | 9,517,851       | 2,080,407        | 589,029       |               |               |
| 5 Automobile and Tire Companies .....           | 63,538,618      | 50,798,668       | 23,542,390    | 19,104,235    | 16,700,999    |
| 1 reporting only 4 years...                     | 2,020,550       | 1,609,980        | 1,118,380     | 559,544       |               |
| 1 " " 3 "                                       | 5,426,636       | 2,303,314        | 1,505,467     |               |               |
| 6 Chemical and Fertilizer Concerns .....        | 32,620,539      | 16,967,313       | 10,514,112    | 9,244,874     | 11,391,571    |
| 1 reporting only 3 years...                     | 6,760,669       | 4,859,000        | 1,680,000     |               |               |
| 13 Sugar, Leather, Wool, Rubber and Meat Cos... | 116,696,484     | 68,515,673       | 47,811,898    | 35,838,506    | 44,072,894    |
| 1 reporting only 4 years...                     | 1,467,757       | 240,322          | 495,890       | 710,464       |               |
| 2 Shipping Concerns...                          | 20,177,818      | 8,939,934        | 3,208,259     | 6,858,364     | 5,869,143     |
| 1 reporting only 2 years...                     | 6,479,449       | 5,165,705        |               |               |               |
| 2 Paper Manufacturers.                          | 7,645,105       | 1,092,559        | 1,029,399     | 764,615       | 1,542,935     |
| 5 Miscellaneous.....                            | 26,058,900      | 16,804,782       | 9,516,495     | 7,613,628     | 7,493,480     |
| 104 Totals .....                                | \$1,366,040,933 | \$593,852,626    | \$244,367,576 | \$358,438,935 | \$290,696,117 |

go on much longer; this is possible simply because the current productivity of the human race has been increased by greater efficiency and effort, largely by the efficiency of more highly socialized industry.

Great Britain and France and Germany and America are producing more iron and steel, more copper and zinc, more ships and shoes and oxygen and chlorine gas and alcohol than were called for in the charts of productive progress.

So much the more fatal is it for Americans to shut their eyes in laying taxes, and retard, here and there, instead of accelerating, productive powers.

This is the real danger, also, in pushing too high the surtax on large incomes. American industry is, in certain fields, the manufacture of motor cars for instance, very much extended indeed, with enormous operations being carried through with scarcely adequate capital. Imagine a mid-Western motor car maker who has built up a huge business in five years. He has an annual income of two million dollars, but is using nearly all of it, and bank loans to the limit as well, to finance a business that has been in existence too short a time for the accumulation of working capital sufficient for the large turnover. With every board of his financial argosy already creaking from the strain, im-

agine a sudden exaction of nearly half of his year's income. His personal credit at the banks cannot stand the squall; necessarily his business feels the force of the blow and with it the various industries supplying him with raw materials and special parts.

It is a transition period in industry and finance we are facing and it is of the highest importance that the curves of change should not be too abrupt. The income tax changes of the House Revenue Bill are far more abrupt than any seen in the history of this war's financing in Great Britain, France or Germany. Canada has no income tax at all.

That this objection to a sudden tax increase from 13 per cent. on the largest incomes to as high as 50 per cent. is not by any means merely theoretical, is strikingly shown by the shiver and halt in industry that came immediately on the passage of the House bill. It was only after the daily reports of the Senate Committee's resolute work in bringing reason and sanity into the bill that trade resumed its buoyant progress.

By going to the one righteous and expedient, tried and successful, source of war revenue, the excess business profits of war years, the task of making up a given sum of war revenue is so simplified and lightened that not only may the small, vexatious and sometimes destructive special taxes be largely

avoided, but even the second great necessary item, a robust increase in personal income rates, may be fixed with discernment and small harm to business.

It is not by any means only or chiefly the possessors of great incomes that are advocating less drastic rates for the personal tax. Academic economists like Professor Seligman are making a strong case for a range of sur-taxes something like twice as large as the present schedule, instead of about four times as great—the increase prescribed in Mr. Kitchin's bill.

An objection has been offered to a heavy tax on excess profits that the Government already demands special prices, much lower than the market prices, from the copper companies, steel factories and other concerns which would be called on to pay very high excess profits taxes.

But very little consideration will show that if such special inside prices operate in the war period to reduce the profits of the companies, the next result will be to reduce very much more the excess of these companies' war profits over their average pre-war earnings, and thereby to reduce their taxes under this plan.

But why create friction and vexation by demanding special arbitrary inside prices for the United States or for other governments—prices very much lower than our citizens have to pay, and which are already tending to make private purchasers uneasy and resentful?

In the first place, such "inside" prices are useless, because the excess profits tax should take any necessary part of the earnings resulting from the high market prices created by the laws of supply and demand. In the second place, if the giving and acceptance of these arbitrary lower prices for the Government's needs operate to obstruct the one big, essential and sufficient process of boldly taking the money made out of the war as the first and largest part of the tax money to pay for the war—the Government has made a very poor bargain, gaining millions only to relinquish scores of millions.

It has also been pointed out that certain companies making large profits in previous years might still make large profits without being taxed; while other concerns that had been struggling along in the pre-war years have just happened to come into prosperity now and would have to pay a heavy tax.

It may be answered that if none of the

current swollen profits of war have come to the concerns of the first class it is not unjust that the nation should ask from their earnings no more than the present corporation income tax, together with the added receipts from the personal income tax which their large earnings would increase. As to concerns only now beginning to show profits: it is not easy to find any example of a business that has been operating unsuccessfully in pre-war years and has come into sudden prosperity in the present years without also finding the direct or indirect cause of the newly increased earnings in the feverish business activity induced by war conditions. Great Britain has special provision for such instances.

At this writing the Senate Finance Committee has discarded the House plan and substituted the correct principle for an excess profits tax—an enormous gain if the new plan is finally accepted, for the present war revenue bill is looked on as a basic structure, presumably to endure as a structure through the war and through any succeeding changes in rates.

Americans should demand that Congress retain this correct plan and that it should go far enough, within the limits of reason and safety, in taking the unearned increment of war for war expenses, to leave business at large active and free as possible from tax interferences with its necessary operations.

The formula for deciding on the exempted earnings may follow closely the British model, with special exemption of 8 or 10 per cent. on newly invested money—or a new formula may be prescribed using an average of all or any of the five past years; or the rates may be graduated according to the degree of war prosperity. It is not for the layman to decide on such details, nor are they of the largest importance except in making the tax levy equitable as between different individual concerns. For there are two variable factors, (1) the exempted normal profit and (2) the rate imposed; to raise a given sum of eight hundred to one thousand million dollars either the first may be lowered or the second may be increased.

But the successful conduct of the war, the rights of citizens and the safety of the country demand that in so far as the unprecedented military expenditures before us are to be defrayed from taxation, the basic and largest item of each levy must be a tax on the new business profits created by the war.

# EXIT CONSTANTINE

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

THE forced abdication of King Constantine in favor of his second son, Prince Alexander, brings to a close an anomalous interlude which had lasted more than two years. Ever since Constantine refused the demands of the Entente Allies to send a Greek army to the Dardanelles in the spring of 1915 his deposition by the Entente Powers has been more or less on the cards. Thenceforth Greece was split into two factions, one supporting the King in his determination to keep out of the war, the other backing Greece's leading statesman, Eleutherios Venizelos, in his desire to range Hellas actively on the Entente side.

With the course of time, this split in the Greek nation has become steadily more pronounced. The quarrel has been envenomed by both foreign and domestic events. In the first place, both the Entente and the Central Powers have applied every species of pressure to bend Greece to their respective wills, and unhappy Hellas has been the battleground of rival foreign propaganda and clandestine intrigues. This in turn has reacted upon the course of home politics. As in all such cases, both domestic factions have been driven to more radical action, and what had at first been a mere dispute over foreign policy has become transformed into a fundamental constitutional issue solvable only by the complete overthrow of one or other of the contending parties.

Such revolutionary action was, in fact, attempted by ex-Premier Venizelos when he left Athens for Crete in the autumn of 1916

and there raised the standard of revolt against King Constantine. This attempt quickly failed, only the islands declaring themselves for Venizelos, while Continental Greece remained loyal to the King. Venizelos thereupon set up a revolutionary government at Salonica (occupied by an Allied army since the autumn of 1915), and with Entente assistance stamped out Royalist opposition in Greek Macedonia, thus adding that important province to his sphere of authority.

Emboldened by this partial success, Venizelos and his Entente backers attempted to drive home their victory by direct action at Athens itself. As a result of an economic blockade threatening Greece with starvation and the still sterner menace of a naval demonstration off Piraeus, the port of Athens, by the Allied fleet, King Constantine was compelled to allow Entente troops to enter Athens, while at the same time Venizelos' partisans in the capital prepared a coup d'état. How-

ever, the plan miscarried. The staunch loyalty of the Greek army and the fanatical devotion of the Athenian populace emboldened King Constantine to risk a counterstroke. On December 2, 1916, the Allied detachments in Athens were suddenly overwhelmed by immensely superior Royalist forces, while the Venizelists were summarily hunted down by infuriated Royalist mobs. The Allies virtually confessed their defeat by withdrawing their troops from Athens and attempting no reoccupation.

The new situation was, however, an obvious interlude which could not possibly long



Photo by American Press Association

## THE ROYAL FAMILY OF GREECE

(In rear, from left to right: Prince Paul, the new King Alexander, Prince George, and Princess Helene. In front, left to right: the former Queen Sophia, King Constantine—now deposed—and Princess Irene)

endure. The Greek factions were further embittered, both sides persecuting the dissentient minorities within their respective spheres to the full extent of their power. This widening of the breach between the Greek factions was reflected in their attitudes toward the rival groups of European belligerents. The Venizelists clung more resolutely than ever to the Entente, while the Royalists, despite formal protestations of neutrality, really threw in their lot with the Central Powers.

#### WHY DID THE ALLIES STAY THEIR HANDS?

That the Entente Allies refrained so long from a decisive attempt to remove these open enemies from their path is due to two causes: the strategic situation in the Balkans, and diplomatic dissensions between the Governments of the Allies themselves.

The Balkan military situation certainly did not favor drastic action. At the time of the December crisis King Constantine controlled some 50,000 loyal troops which could easily be expanded to fully 100,000. Also, the fanatical temper of the Greek peasantry made it reasonably certain that an Allied occupation of Continental Greece would have to face not only the resistance of the Greek regular army but also much ugly guerilla fighting. This meant that considerable forces would be required, and that in turn meant large drafts upon the only big body of Allied troops in the Balkans—the Salonica army. But no such drafts could be spared, for just to the east and north of Salonica lay heavy masses of Turkish and Bulgarian soldiery ready to pounce upon a weakened Salonica line. And such an assault, if successful, would take the Allied army between two fires and lead to a terrible disaster.

#### THE FOOD BLOCKADE

The Allies were therefore obliged to fall back upon a gradual sapping of the Royalist power. One effective weapon they still possessed—the economic blockade. Continental Greece is predominantly a sterile, mountainous country, unable to feed its own population. Only one province—Thessaly—produces any appreciable quantity of cereals, and her wheat fields are insufficient to provide bread for all the hungry Hellenic mouths. Even before the crisis of December, 1916, the Allies had on more than one occasion temporarily shut off Greece's foreign food supply, and with the beginning of

1917 this economic blockade became permanent, thus threatening Greece with downright starvation.

The astonishing fortitude with which the Greek people bore their sufferings taught the Allies not to be too inexorable lest they drive the Greeks to some furious stroke of despair, but they made skilful use of their advantage by offering partial and temporary relaxations of the blockade in return for Royalist concessions such as the concentration (and practical internment) of most of the Greek army in the Peloponnesus, the surrender of Greek war material, etc. Thus King Constantine's military power was gradually undermined, the threat against the rear of the Allies' Salonica army was removed, and the way cleared for drastic action at an opportune moment.

#### CONFLICTING AIMS

Such action would probably have been ventured before now if the Entente Powers had been united in their attitude towards Greece. But, as a matter of fact, they were very far from being so united. Until very recently the Allied Governments were divided respecting Greece into two sharply divergent camps so evenly balanced that positive action was impossible. On the one side stood England and France; on the other, Russia and Italy.

The Anglo-French aims were clear enough. What they wanted was a strong Greece closely bound to themselves, thus establishing a most useful collaborator in their plans of Mediterranean ascendancy and a precious defender of their Levantine interests. That was what Venizelos, the devoted friend of England and France, so unreservedly offered them. To be sure, while thoroughly agreed as to the end, they were not quite agreed upon the means. France inclined toward a summary expulsion of the whole Greek royal family and the establishment of a Greek Republic under Venizelos' Presidency. England, not over-enthusiastic about republics, especially in Tory circles, favored what has just occurred—the deposition of King Constantine and the transference of the crown to his younger son Alexander under a practical Venizelist regency. This meant that England and France were for forcible measures against King Constantine at the earliest possible moment.

But in this they were not followed by either Russia or Italy. Neither of these

powers desired an enlarged Greece under Anglo-French tutelage. Italy was particularly opposed to the scheme. In fact, what Italy desired was Greece's practical destruction. For years past, Italy's growing aspirations in the Near East had everywhere encountered nascent Greek imperialism as a formidable rival. The Italian occupation of Rhodes and the Egean archipelago of the Dodekanese during the Italo-Turkish war of 1911 had been virtually a gage of battle flung down at the feet of Hellenism, for these islands, though politically Turkish territory, were thoroughly Greek in blood and longed ardently for reunion with the Hellenic homeland. Furthermore, these islands were obviously mere stepping-stones to an Italian occupation of southwest Asia Minor with its commercial heart, the great city of Smyrna—territories which Greeks passionately claimed as vital portions of the Hellenic race-heritage.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that Italians had witnessed with frank pleasure both Hellenism's domestic schism and the estrangement between Greece and her traditional Anglo-French protectors which had begun with the Dardanelles fiasco in the spring of 1915. Thenceforth Italy had consistently frowned upon Venizelos and covertly smiled upon Constantine—the game being to keep Greece out of the war and then settle the Balkan and Levantine problems without regard to Greek interests or susceptibilities. The result would be a diminished, hopeless Greece, unable further to contest the waxing power of a triumphant Italy.

#### RUSSIA'S INTERESTS

The attitude of Russia was slightly more complex. The chief bone of contention between Greece and Russia was Constantinople. Both nations ardently desired its possession—Russia as her indispensable outlet from the Black Sea; Greece as the traditional capital of Hellenism, the vital keystone to the "Great Idea," a revived Byzantine Empire. It was thus in Russia's interest to see Greece alienated from her Anglo-French friends and thereby unable to set up claims which might conflict with Russia's far-flung plans of dominion in Asia Minor and the Balkans. Besides, the Imperial Russian Government tended to favor King Constantine

owing to the close dynastic connection between the House of Romanoff and the Danish royal family from which Constantine sprang.

The first sign of a breaking of this diplomatic deadlock in Entente councils was the Russian revolution. The dynastic factor in Russia's favor to King Constantine disappeared with the Romanoffs' fall. The territorial factor, however, still persisted, for the Russian provisional government, headed by Paul Miliukoff, was as insistent upon Constantinople as the Czarist government had been. But the recent fall of Miliukoff and the imperialistic Liberals before the Social Revolutionary groups of Kerensky and others, did away with this factor as well, for the new masters of Russia formally disclaimed insistence upon Constantinople and Near Eastern dominion. That left Italy alone in opposition to drastic action against King Constantine, and France and England have evidently lost no time in making the most of this golden opportunity.

#### CONSTANTINE'S SUBMISSION

This also does much to explain Constantine's apparently complete backdown to the Entente ultimatum with no attempt at resistance or procrastination. He seems to have realized that his foes were at last free to push matters to extremities, and since his own military power had been gradually sapped until only the empty shell remained, he apparently bowed gracefully to the inevitable.

Nevertheless, the task of the future governors of Greece will be no light one. King Constantine has managed to retain the love of the vast majority of his subjects in continental Greece. His summary expulsion by Entente bayonets will now make him a martyr, and will as inevitably kindle a fanatical hatred of the coming (presumably) Venizelist régime—brought to Athens "in the Allies' baggage." Should Venizelos himself return to take up the reins of power it will be difficult to protect him against attempts upon his life. Precisely how the tangled course of Greek internal politics will run is a matter of high uncertainty. What is certain is that the prospects of unhappy Greece at this moment are dark and full of trouble.

# LORD NORTHCLIFFE AS BRITISH AGENT

BY ALLAN DAWSON

ON June 12, "somewhere in the United States," a big steamer had scarcely fastened to her pier when a stocky, smooth-faced Englishman projected himself down the gangplank with more speed than is associated with distinguished English visitors. His footwork was excellent as he raced for a motor, with a queue of vainly interrogating reporters in his wake. His habiliments gave no clue, save possibly a red-checked tie, to character. A man of fifty-two years, he looked ten years younger, despite a neck-stoop—head thrust forward, to use a phrase of Will Irwin, as if hurrying on his body. Eyes were restless and eager, the glance suggesting general curiosity and irritability at everyone's slowness.

It was Northcliffe, variously described as savior and pest of Great Britain, but allowed to be, for the present, one of the two most influential men in the British Empire. He had arrived to head the British War Mission in this country. He was not to displace the British Ambassador, but would look after shipments of supplies and the like. Nor was he envoy extraordinary to the American people, for he declared he would be too busy to accept social or speaking engagements.

Northcliffe, a title name, for he was born Harmsworth in a suburb of Dublin, has created much stir in the thirty years of his crowded adult life—starting without help at seventeen years, a rich newspaper proprietor at thirty, and an international figure at forty. In old days Warwicks were masters of a hundred baronies. This one's power is lodged in the ownership of about 250 publications. He has harvested them in bunches since the day when, a young man of twenty-three years, he picked up his first, whose circulation he pushed in ways shocking to staid British journalism. Because of the multiplicity of his proprietorships and the way he plays Ishmael, he has been likened to a well-known American who similarly combines a passion for controlling printers' ink and for destructive criticism when his advice is not taken. Salisbury, who assumed

that a newspaper should be a docile party organ, once remarked of the London *Mail*, the favorite ewe lamb of the Northcliffe flock, that it was "edited by office-boys for office-boys." Now he is the "Ha'penny Field Marshal," but his consequence has been admitted since he annexed that part of the British constitution that is known as the *Times*—floating about aimlessly because its seventy-nine owners could not agree how it should be run.

Since the war he has scalped Churchill, Grey, and Asquith, and his hold on the forelock of Kitchener was loosened only by Kitchener's tragic death. As it was, Northcliffe, after the solemn interment at Westminster Abbey, dug up the Earl's remains and gibbeted them because the Gallipoli expedition did not turn out well. England would not be England if everywhere in it this profaner of sanctities had respect, but everywhere he is able to inspire fear. With notches on his machine gun of publicity, showing two ministries toppled, it is almost necessary to amend the old formula of King, Lords, and Commons into King, Lords, Commons, and Northcliffe.

In ante-bellum days Northcliffe was the chief screamer for the Boer war, a fanatical opponent of Irish Home Rule, combated the idea that Great Britain could trust France if a channel tunnel were dug (how she wishes now she had it!), was a predictor of the war with Germany and a demander of preparation and more preparation, an unsparing critic of any understanding with Russia, and an advocate of the Chamberlain proposal that the British Empire should become a tight affair, buying, except for a few items, only from itself. He attacked the social program of Lloyd George, his war against poverty and the privileges of the House of Peers, with extreme intensity. Those were the days when Lloyd George was mobbed in Birmingham, Chamberlain's home. A member of Parliament, meeting Chamberlain, said to him: "So your people almost managed to kill Lloyd George the

other night." "What is everybody's business is nobody's business," responded Brummagem Joe. Then there was the man who jumped from the pier at Brighton to rescue a drowning person, and the gallant rescuer, describing his experience, said: "I got hold of his collar just as he was going down. Having turned him over to see it wasn't Lloyd George, I then easily floated him to the pier."

The ante-bellum political features of Northcliffe were thus those of an imperialistic Tory of the rough-riding Cecil Rhodes type. As a practical man, not for him were dreams of improving the race, no gleaming visions of a perfected world, relieved of its ills and its sons dwelling in harmonious prosperity. He has been not averse to painting on the map of the world as large a part as possible with the colors of a flaming British red. Early in the war, complaining of the insufficiency of the German blockade, he urged searchings of our vessels that would not have contributed to our entry into the war as an ally of Great Britain. While our public was being educated into the belief that the British blockade was violating neutral rights, he held they were too meticulously respected.

But Northcliffe, although wrong about a score of points of policy and strategy, was right about Germany, about conscription, about the need of shells and more shells, about the necessity of centralizing power, about waking up England and shaking her out of the complacent faith that the British Empire was immortal and would be taken care of without the need of Englishmen individually worrying. Nevertheless, in view of the well-known stiff preference of America for Liberal rather than for Tory England, for Chatham and Gladstone, rather than for North and Disraeli, it is surprising some distinguished Liberal was not chosen to interpret England to America. Somewhere must be a willingness to transfer Northcliffe's energy overseas or a belief that his practical abilities are very great. His disparagers whisper that three thousand miles of water is a fairly good barrier against the business of directing the war from a Fleet Street editorial office.

Whether the bed-fellowship will persist is the subject of interested speculation in Great Britain. The Welsh Prime Minister is believed, if a correct picture of the man has been projected, to be a passionate, deep-feeling, aspiring democratic idealist. He is for this war for the same set of reasons that



Photo by American Press Association

**BARON NORTHCLIFFE OF ISLE OF THANET**  
(Alfred Harmsworth, the famous London newspaper proprietor, was made a Baron in 1904)

he opposed the Boer war. Elements of obvious incongruity are thus present when he is yoked with Chamberlain's most conspicuous fugelman. It is improbable Lloyd George has changed. Northcliffe may have changed through the educative effects of the war, as have many others, but seldom do men alter essentially when past the half-century mark in years. The basis of the partnership is perhaps Northcliffe's passion to get things done, his patriotism, and his admiration for the volcanic energy of Lloyd George, coupled with his belief that a dictatorship is necessary and that no man except Lloyd George, with his radical record, would have been accepted by the British masses.

That Northcliffe will be a personal success in this country may be taken for granted. His qualities are of the compelling kind. He is frank and informal, has a downright explicitness and a fury to achieve results

without flummery and red tape that we like to flatter ourselves is American. If he had happened to be born on this side he doubtless would have been a captain of industry able to get along with the unions. Restless, peripatetic (this is his seventeenth visit to our shores), he goes at his tasks in his shirt-sleeves—reaches a conclusion and then thinks up reasons afterwards. He has gone far in his tempestuous way and may go further. With what is behind him and with what may be before him he piques curiosity. Free and easy in demeanor, of big heart in all that relates to private life, he will be a welcome guest.

Northcliffe's great executive abilities will be of service not only to his country but to ours, as he occupies himself with buying \$40,000,000 to \$50,000,000 worth of supplies a month. No man, if he gives opportunity, will be more consulted by our department heads as they struggle with strange tasks. He knows what Great Britain's mistakes were, and no false national pride restrains him from naming them. Both as official representative of Great Britain and as non-official counsellor to our Government, it may be that Northcliffe's fame as owner of newspapers will be eclipsed by that of organizer of victory.

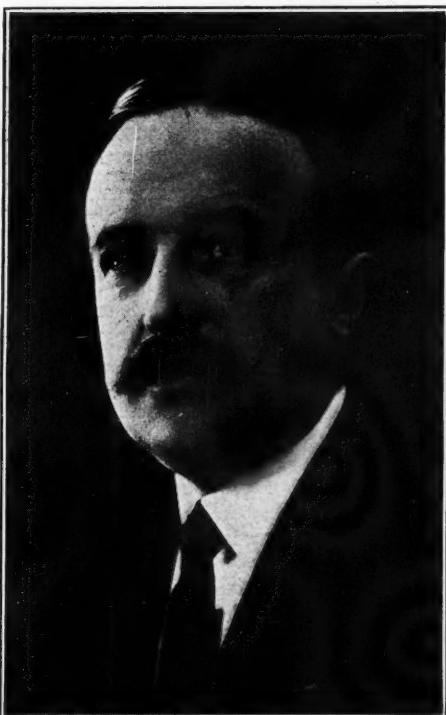
## ANDRÉ TARDIEU

THE career of the French High Commissioner to the United States has not been of a sort that one would expect to see paralleled in this country. The diplomatic calling appeals to few of our youth as it appealed to young Tardieu twenty years ago, just after his graduation from college. On taking an examination, he was admitted to the foreign service and sent to Berlin as Under Secretary of the French Embassy there. From Berlin he was transferred to Constantinople, but tiring of official life he joined the staff of the *Figaro* and later that of *Le Temps*. After many years of editorial writing, foreseeing the impending European clash, M. Tardieu campaigned aggressively for the three-years' military service bill. Early in 1914 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.

On the outbreak of the war, in August, 1914, Tardieu organized for the War Office the first foreign press service, and then joined the staff of General Foch. After the battle of the Yser he was called to General Headquarters, to establish the Bureau of Information, but soon asked to be sent to the front, and while commanding a company of foot chasseurs (the famous "Blue Devils") was seriously wounded. Meanwhile he had acquired an astounding mass of information about the condition and needs of the army, and this was placed at the service of the government through a series of reports which he made as a member of the Army Commission.

M. Tardieu is peculiarly fitted, by reason of his intimate knowledge of his country's

wants, to serve efficiently as Commissioner to the United States. Moreover, he is already acquainted with American business and social life, having traveled here extensively in years past, and is described as remarkably sympathetic with American ideals and ways of looking at things.



ANDRÉ TARDIEU, FRENCH HIGH COMMISSIONER

# GENERAL PERSHING

THE first American commander to lead troops in war on European soil, it is natural that General John J. Pershing should have "taken Paris by storm" last month, in the words of the newspaper correspondents. If some other American general had been charged with this highly important service, the people of France might have received him with equal enthusiasm, but it is certain that for the time being the traditions of American democracy, of American valor, as the French know them, are all embodied in Pershing. In Paris his six feet of soldierly presence means more than most of us can easily conceive, for to the French mind that well-knit figure typifies the might and the vigor of the elder Republic across the water to whose founding Lafayette gave the ardor of his youth.

At any rate, we at home know that when the Washington Administration sent "Jack" Pershing to head the American military contingent in France it selected for that responsible task a man who represents the very best that this generation has to offer as the product of our training for the soldier's profession. On the Mexican border, as successor to General Funston, he commanded the largest bodies of troops that have been assembled in this country since the disbanding of the Civil War armies. His difficult service in the Philippines was a test of his resourcefulness in the field, under hard conditions and far removed from his base. His leadership of the Mexican expedition last year was perhaps a still more trying experience—partly because he was less independent in command. Yet he obeyed orders and retained the respect of superiors and subordinates alike.

General Pershing was graduated from West Point thirty-one years ago and at once began active service in the Southwest. Since that time he has seen as much field duty as was possible for an American officer during three decades when the United States remained at peace, with the exception of the brief unpleasantness with Spain in 1898. In subjugating the hostile Moros, every soldierly quality was brought into play and in addition there were administrative tasks that required the soundest of judgment and the firmest of wills.

The General is of Alsatian descent and was born in Missouri.



© Harris & Ewing  
MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



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STUDENT OFFICERS AT FORT MYER, GATHERED ABOUT THEIR INSTRUCTOR

## MAKING OFFICERS FOR OUR NEW ARMY

BY WILLIAM MENKEL

**T**HREE has never been much question about the ability of Uncle Sam to raise a million men for war purposes, either by the volunteer method or by conscription. The chief anxiety has been to secure officers to train the million after they had been raised. The Regular Army needs all its own officers, and, when recruited to its recently authorized strength, will need more. The National Guard is in the same position. Apart from the comparatively few officers in the Reserve Corps, there were practically no officers available to take charge of the proposed new draft army that will have more than half a million men at the start.

With the declaration of war and the decision to conscript a large fighting force, the War Department immediately set about (under Section 54 of the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916), to secure the necessary officers. The plan adopted was a modification, suited to war conditions, of the Federal Training Camps for Civilians, which had become popular throughout the country as the Plattsburg Idea, and had attained a high degree of success. The principle of these camps was a short period of intensive

military training for men physically and mentally fit.

Accordingly sixteen officers' training camps were projected last April, and the lists thrown open for applications. In spite of rigid requirements as to health, mental equipment, and experience, more than the desired number of men were easily obtained.

These camps were open to Reserve officers of the line and engineers, members of the Officers' Reserve Corps Training Unit, duly authorized members of the National Guard, graduates of military schools, and civilians with or without military experience, provided they were college graduates or otherwise educated, and had clearly demonstrated their ability in business or other activities. Also they were required to be men of good moral character and sound physical condition.

The only obligations were that the candidates must enlist for a period of three months and agree to accept such appointment in the Officers' Reserve Corps of the United States Army as the Secretary of War should tender to them at the close of the training period. Generally considered, the Government provisions for the camp attendants were

liberal. Transportation, uniforms, books, subsistence, and equipment were furnished, and in addition each man is allowed \$100 a month pay. Those who had already been commissioned in the Officers' Reserve Corps received the regular pay of their rank.

The sixteen camps were located at Plattsburg Barracks (N. Y.), Madison Barracks (Sackett's Harbor, N. Y.), Fort Niagara (N. Y.), Fort Myer (Virginia), Fort Oglethorpe (Georgia), Fort McPherson (Georgia), Fort Benjamin Harrison (Indiana), Fort Sheridan (Illinois), Fort Logan H. Roots (Arkansas), Fort Snelling (Minnesota), Fort Riley (Kansas), Leon Springs (Texas), and the Presidio of San Francisco.

With the exception of the "double" camps, like that of Plattsburg, which accommodates over 5,000 men, each camp was organized as one provisional training regiment, with a maximum attendance of twenty-five hundred men. The object of each regiment was to train officers for one full division of troops and one additional cavalry regiment. From the total of 40,000 men in training it was planned to select ten thousand to officer the first army increment of 500,000 men which Congress was expected to authorize, with commissions for many more for service elsewhere, or in the Reserve Corps.

Over seventy-five per cent. of the officer material attending the camps is extremely good. The ages of the men run from 21 years to 45. College graduates, professional men and men of large business affairs predominate. Many have left lucrative posi-



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PRACTISING RIFLE SIGHTING AT THE FORT SHERIDAN CAMP, ILLINOIS

tions or made other personal sacrifices to attend the camps.

The course of training, while in a measure similar to that of previous training camps, lasts three months instead of one, and includes more subjects than could be packed into a month's course. Also the working hours are longer and the discipline more severe. This was, of course, natural. The former camps were held while we were still at peace. They partook somewhat of the nature of propaganda, and no obligation went with attendance. The training was excellent and the experience valuable, but when the camp was over the men were through and went back to civil life. Now we are at war, and these camps are for actual war purposes. The men attending them are on the first lap of the road to France. Officers are to be made under high pressure, to command men who will engage in actual fighting. When their too brief time of training is up, they will almost immediately take charge of the raw troops that will be ready for them by that time and will try to pass on to them a good part of the training they have received.

It is by no means considered that the men will be finished officers when the camps close. But they will have been given a good start. They can be expected to go ahead afterward by themselves. With their own previous equipment and this added three months' intensive training, they will be able to keep well in advance of the men they are to teach,



Photo by Paul Thompson

DRAWING EQUIPMENT AT FORT BENJAMIN HARRISON, INDIANA



MODERN BAYONET DRILL IS RECEIVING EMPHASIS  
(Students at the Fort Myer Camp)

learning and re-learning as they go along.

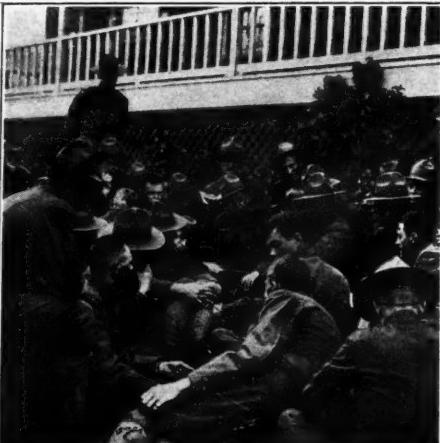
The period of training in these camps began on May 15 and will end on August 11. It is divided into two terms. During the first term of one month all attendants were put through a uniform course of instruction in infantry work and the duties common to officers of all arms. On the completion of this period, the men were separated according to the various branches they had chosen, and then began their special training for two months in those particular branches. Infantrymen, who continued on in that line of work, have remained generally at the original camps. But engineers, artillermen and aviation students have been detached and concentrated in other camps given over wholly to their particular branch.

The camp day, lasting from reveille at 5:45 a. m. to taps at 9:45 p. m., is based on a ten-hour schedule of actual work—five in the morning, three in the afternoon, and a two-hour study period at night. This night studying is not done individually as the men may please, lying in bunks or any other convenient place and subject to all sorts of interruptions. They are marched off by companies to their classrooms immediately after supper, and sit down in a body for a solid period of two hours in silent study. In addition to the field work, there is a conference

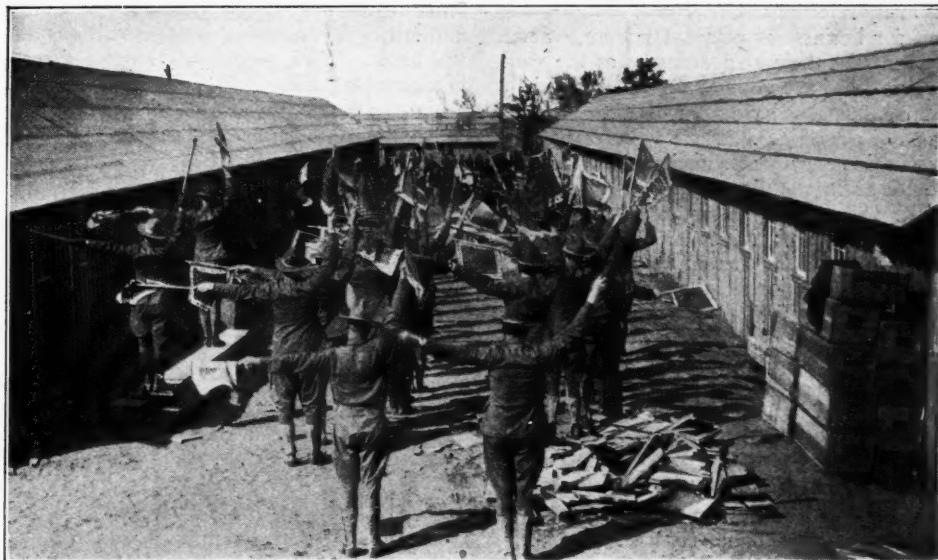
period of an hour and a half each morning and afternoon at which the candidates for commissions are quizzed by their instructors on the lessons studied the evening before. While there are short rests during the day, the only free time of any length is Saturday afternoon and Sunday, with the possibility of Saturday afternoons being filled with "catching up" work later on.

The first month's infantry course consisted of the usual drill in close and open order, manual of arms, musketry training, physical drill, semaphore and flag signaling, and bayonet and saber drill. In addition to the books covering these subjects, the men also studied the "Manual of Court-Martial," "Small Problems for Infantry" and "Manual of Interior Guard Duty." The care of equipment, organization of the regiment, and other branches of the military art were taken up in the morning and evening conferences. In the second period of training, all the phases of actual warfare in Europe will be realistically taken up. Conditions of trench warfare will be accurately reproduced, the men taking their turns in dugouts and on firing lines, and learning all about grenade and gas attacks, both offensive and defensive, barbed-wire entanglements, machine-gun work, night attacks and trench raids, to the accompaniment of star shells, and all the other paraphernalia of modern warfare, with a three-day period of war maneuvers to finish up.

The courses are designed to develop the men as instructors, managers and leaders. They are subjected to the same drills and individual training that they will be called on



A CLASS SESSION IN MUSKETRY AT THE PRESIDIO CAMP, SAN FRANCISCO



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SIGNALING BY SEMAPHORE AND FLAGS IS AN IMPORTANT FEATURE OF THE TRAINING  
(Practising signalling at Plattsburg. The picture shows the wooden barracks in which the men live)

to give as officers, and must submit to the same discipline and rigid attention to detail that they will have to exact in turn from those under them. They are living the same mode of life that their future subordinates will have to live, with added instruction in the proper method of supplying, messing, administering, and disciplining organizations, and caring for the welfare and comfort of their men. Leadership is being developed by giving every man by turns an opportunity to command various company units in field work.

The camps are a kind of hot-house West Point, minus the academic work and its theoretical training—and plus some very practical up-to-date war lessons. The training is not too arduous. Neither is it easy. It cannot well be under the circumstances. The men have a lot to learn in an all too brief time. So it is a fairly steady grind, with no time for loafing, and everything going with vim and snap. But the men are standing up well under it. The selective process by which they were originally chosen resulted in securing material able to absorb rapidly an intensive course of this kind.

The instruction contemplates a thorough grounding in the fundamental work of the soldier,—the necessary general knowledge which will help the new officers to meet special situations as they arise. This is a highly

important point. It was overlooked in training some of the English and Canadian forces who were drilled exclusively in certain special phases of the new warfare. And when conditions changed these men were at a loss to meet them. Nevertheless, while profiting by the mistakes of our allies, we are also benefiting by their advice and instructions. The experience of foreign armies during the past three years is being freely drawn upon for lessons of the latest developments in modern warfare. Thoroughness and precision are being emphasized.

Lack of equipment has handicapped the work to a certain extent, and there is a decided shortage of officer instructors. At a certain school in Canada 300 men are supplied with a teaching staff of 30 officers—one instructor to each ten men. At the double camp at Plattsburg there are 55 officer instructors (not counting the medical staff) to over 5500 men—one to every 100.

Camp officials have, however, expressed themselves as well satisfied with the progress made. More than 60 per cent. of the men will probably earn commissions. Even this would indicate some severe weeding out. The process of elimination has, in fact, been going on ever since the camps opened. In addition to the physical examination on acceptance of the candidate's application, a further physical test was applied at the camps, resulting

in many rejections. Other men have dropped out for business or personal reasons. Some, recognizing their own unfitness as the work progressed, have voluntarily discontinued the course. A few have been dismissed for the good of the service. Those who are not successful in securing commissions in the drafted forces or in the Regular Army may be invited to attend a later camp for further training. Examinations and the result of day-by-day observation on the part of officers will largely determine the fitness of the men to receive commissions.

Failure to be chosen for a commission will not necessarily reflect on the individual candidate. All men are not cut out to be military officers. Temperament, the ability to handle men, and the talent to impart instruction—prime requisites in a good officer—are not possessed by all. But every man is being given an absolutely fair show and equal treatment. Individual students have freely acknowledged that if they fail it will be due to their own fault.

The men are working hard and submitting cheerfully to rigid discipline. The strictest supervision is being constantly maintained over their conduct both inside and outside the camps. Provost officers and assistants are utilized for this purpose. Gross violations of discipline mean prompt discharge from the camp, while all the little things that show carelessness or imperfections in habits or character are carefully set down and will score against the candidate in the final judgment. During the first month rank was not observed as between the men in training, many of whom had already received their commissions as lieutenants, captains and majors in the Reserve Corps; but after this period these men had to be duly saluted by the uncommissioned privates.

Health and moral conditions are being well guarded in and about these officers' training camps. The War Department has made

strict regulations to this end, and the camp authorities are carrying out instructions to the letter. Two regulations have a direct bearing along these lines. The first is that the men are required to wear their uniforms in public all the time. The second regulation forbids any man in uniform from entering a drinking-place or a house of prostitution. In New York State also a new law was secured prohibiting the sale of liquor within a quarter of a mile of any army reservation, and many rum shops promptly went by the board.

It may be said for the men that they are not anxious to break the regulations. Of excellent character to begin with, the majority of them could doubtless get along very well without restrictions on their conduct. Housed by companies in rough wooden shacks, eating plain food, with physical work out of doors most of the day, and regular hours, the men are living clean and healthy lives. They realize the task looming up before them, and are seriously intent on making good. The Y. M. C. A. as usual is standing by at the camps in various useful ways. It assists materially in the oversight of recreation, supplies personal conveniences, and conducts religious services. Church attendance—at the big double camp at Plattsburg, for example—is exceptionally good. An average of a thousand men appear at the morning and evening services at this camp, while hundreds of others go to the various churches in the city.

Altogether it is an interesting experiment for us to make our army officers in this way. It is revolutionary, this method of selecting officers in time of war by the competitive process instead of by personal or political influence. The democracy of it is appropriate to the democratic character of our conscript army. A second series of camps, with fewer men, has already been planned for the period from August 27 to November 26.



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THE FORT NIAGARA (N. Y.) STUDENTS ON A MARCH



BATTLESHIPS AND MERCHANTMEN AT THE YARDS OF THE NEW YORK SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, CAMDEN, N. J.—SHOWING THE VARIETY OF WORK BEING DONE AT ONE BIG SHIPYARD.

## AMERICAN SHIPBUILDING— A REAL RENAISSANCE

BY WINTHROP L. MARVIN

FROM a pigmy to a giant in two years is the war record of American shipbuilding. On July 1, 1914, just before this great combat began, only forty-one steel merchant steamships of a total of 143,000 tons were under construction in American shipyards, and about one-third of these vessels were in yards of the Great Lakes, from which the largest of them could not be transferred to the ocean. There had come a halt in the increase of the navy—Germany had been allowed to pass ahead of the United States. The builders of Europe were operating at a maximum. American maritime courage and enterprise were at the very lowest ebb since the Civil War. The shipowners and builders of this country had seen every successive measure for the strengthening of their industry defeated, though by very scant majorities, through the

indifference of a part of the agricultural Middle West and South and the adroit and formidable opposition of the great State-aided steamship combinations of Europe. There were alien propagandas in this country before the Department of Justice began its sensational disclosures in the war autumn of 1914.

President Wilson had come into office with eloquent emphasis of the national importance of American ships and American seamen, but the early months of his Administration had unfortunately been signalized by the introduction into Congress of measures proposing the entrance into our coastwise commerce of foreign ships maintained, many of them, by subsidies, or operated by Chinese or Lascar crews. That is to say, the prospect was, three years ago, that the free, unrestricted, but hopelessly one-sided, com-

petition which had already given nine-tenths of our overseas carrying trade to the bountified or cheap-wage vessels of other nations would soon be applied with inevitably the same result to the home carrying trade between Baltimore and Boston, or New York and New Orleans, or Philadelphia and San Francisco. It is not strange, therefore, that in those months of 1913 and early 1914, when all our national industries were in a state of arrested development, American shipbuilding and navigation were as if stricken with paralysis.

#### NO CHANGE AT FIRST

Nor did the outbreak of the war in Europe work any large immediate change. So long as the conflict seemed only a matter of weeks or months, even the complete loss from our trade routes of the German merchant ships, which, after Britain's, had been our principal ocean carriers, brought no urgent demand for new American freight ships, which would require the most of a year to build. But when men visioned more accurately the real duration and heart-breaking tenseness of the gigantic struggle, the wisest and boldest of them saw that for America the prime need was ships, and as, after Britain and Germany, the United States had the greatest ocean-shipbuilding equipment, American builders who had been wont to be suppliants for casual orders from coast owners and the Government now found themselves overwhelmed with business from their own country and from foreign lands.

It should be understood that Britain before the war was constructing not only all the ships for her own immense merchant marine but a great part of the new tonnage for all other maritime nations except Germany, France, and the United States. Thus, according to Lloyd's Register, British yards in 1913 produced no less than 1,932,000 tons of shipping made up of vessels of 100 tons gross or over, out of 2,901,000 tons launched in the same period in the whole world. In that same year Germany produced 465,000 tons and France 176,000 tons. No other nation launched as much as 100,000 tons, except Holland, credited with 104,000 tons, and the United States, credited with 276,000 tons—Lloyd's figures for this country, however, are not full and complete.

Other maritime powers of importance, like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and Japan, were chiefly dependent on British builders for their merchant craft

—not having the means to secure the requisite amount at home—and instantly on the outbreak of the war English, Scotch, and Irish yards were "commandeered" for the naval construction and repair work of their government. This does not mean that all merchant work was incontinently abandoned, but it was deferred and made subordinate to the imperative Admiralty demands, with the result that in the first full war year, 1915, the total merchant output of British yards was only 650,000 tons, or one-third of the normal production of 1913.

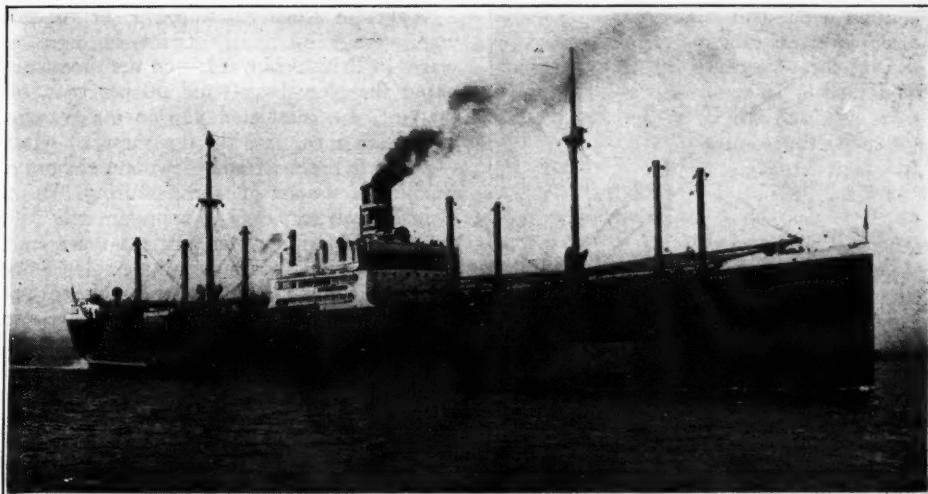
#### NEUTRAL EUROPE TURNING TO AMERICA

Not only was the natural annual increase of ocean tonnage of British origin so heavily lessened, but from the first day of the war there began that sharp, sensational wasting of Allied ships by German roving cruisers and submarines—and at first one-third, then more and more, and probably one-half of British merchant vessels, which in 1913 made up a round 20,000,000 tons, or one-half of the total carrying tonnage of the world, were chartered or requisitioned for the King's service as food or munitions ships, patrol ships, fuel ships, transports, and general naval auxiliaries. This process, added to the arrest of German and Austrian tonnage, left a mighty vacuum in the ocean-carrying resources of the world. To fill this vacuum which so gravely threatened international commerce, Scandinavian, Dutch, and other neutral shipowners sought British yards in vain—in their time of stress they would not build for foreigners—and Germany could not and France could not. So Scandinavian and other owners who wished new ships, turned, because they had to turn, for the first time in sixty years, to the shipyards of America.

#### OUR SHIPYARDS IN FIRST PLACE

These neutral merchants found American yards already filling up with new fleets for the shipping houses of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, Galveston, San Francisco, Portland, and Puget Sound. Not only were coast plants being driven to the utmost, but Great Lake yards were being utilized—for ships for ocean service up to 260 feet in length and of a capacity of 3000 to 4000 tons can be floated out of the lakes through the Welland Canal to the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic.

Between home demand and foreign de-



THE NEW OCEAN FREIGHTER "EDWARD LUCKENBACH"

(Built for the Luckenbach Steamship Company by the Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation)

mand, American yards on coast and lake from January to June, 1916, inclusive, completed a total tonnage of 240,000 as compared with 238,000 tons launched in the same months from all the yards of the United Kingdom. Thus, in the great war, and because of the war, the United States had stepped into its rightful position as the foremost shipbuilding nation of the world.

Figures thus far cited relate only to merchant tonnage. The American naval appropriation bill reported on June 30, 1916, provided for ten battleships, six battle cruisers, ten scout cruisers, and other warships and auxiliaries numbering in all 157, of a total of 855,000 tons displacement, at an estimated cost of \$588,000,000, of which sixty-six of 382,000 tons were to be begun as soon as practicable and the remainder before July 1, 1919. Most of these warships will necessarily be constructed in the commercial shipyards of the United States, the chief of which are much more completely equipped and extensive than the government navy-yard establishments. On June 30, 1914, there were building in Great Britain ninety warships of a total of 592,000 tons displacement of which seventy-six of 458,000 tons were building in commercial yards.

The magnitude of the present shipbuilding undertakings in America is well set forth in the current report of Mr. Eugene T. Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, that "the steel ships already ordered or building in American shipyards at

this writing and those to be built or begun in less than three years will cost about \$800,000,000, the largest outlay for shipbuilding, it is quite safe to say, ever provided for at one period in the history of any country."

#### SHIP STEEL CHEAPER HERE

"Why," it may be asked, "did not all these American and foreign orders come to American shipyards before?" This question is pertinent; it should be answered. That the present extraordinary activity in American merchant shipbuilding represents "war business" and war conditions is frankly acknowledged by American builders. Before the war, American steel shipyards had relatively few orders, except for naval vessels or vessels designed for the coastwise trade, to which foreign-built craft were not admitted. Foreign owners did not come here for their ocean ships, and American owners operating in the overseas trade often purchased their fleets abroad—more than \$100,000,000 of American capital was said to be invested in shipping under foreign registry.

The main cause for all this was succinctly stated by the Merchant Marine Commission in its report in 1904-1905—that it cost on the average about 40 per cent. more to build an ocean ship in this country than it did in Europe. This was not due to any difference in the cost of steel materials, for ship-plates and shapes were obtainable at a lower price, as a general rule, in this country than else-

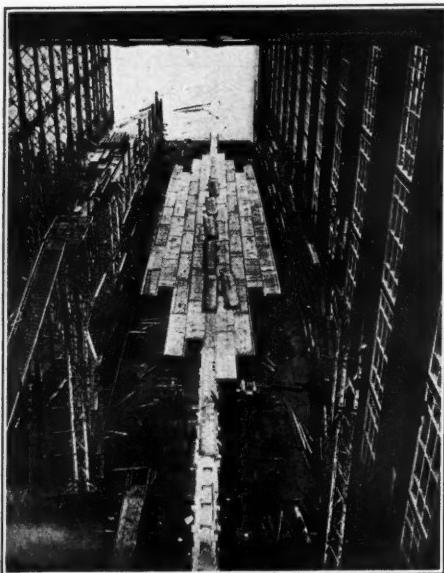


Photo by Paul Thompson

## LAYING THE KEEL OF A STANDARDIZED STEEL SHIP

where. All materials for ships for foreign service have been non-dutiable for many years, and the Panama Canal Act of 1912 provided for the free admission of such materials for the construction even of vessels in the coastwise trade.

Regularly the Bureau of Navigation reports the comparative price of steel ship-plates free on board at Pittsburgh in this country and at Middlesborough in England. Since 1910 in every month the American price has been substantially lower than the British price. For August, 1914, the first month of the war, when shipbuilding was so inactive here and so active in the United Kingdom, ship-plates were selling at \$26.66 a ton in Pittsburgh and at \$34.08 a ton at Middlesborough. Yet, a 5000 dead-weight ton steamship costing \$40 a ton in a British yard at that time would have cost \$60 a ton in America—or \$200,000 in the one case and \$300,000 in the other.

## WHY AMERICAN SHIPS HAD COST MORE

This difference was due, not to the cost of materials, but to (1) the cost of labor and (2) the greater experience and, therefore, the greater facility of the British yard, which, working constantly on vessels for the vast British merchant marine and for foreign marines, was able to standardize its product and achieve the economy of a full and regular volume of production.

Wages in American shipyards before the war were substantially twice as high as wages in British shipyards—on the time basis or on the piece basis—and 50 per cent. of the cost of a completed ship on the average is the labor cost within the shipyard gates—a ship is the most ambitious and elaborate product of the art of manufacturing. With British yards employed to approximately full capacity on familiar standardized types, and American yards spasmodically employed to part capacity on anything that offered between a battleship and a tug, it was not surprising, it was simply inevitable, that the cost of the product of the British yard should be so uniformly far below the cost of the product of the American yard that there could be no real commercial competition between them.

## FULL CAPACITY FOR THE FIRST TIME

But the great war has wrought a change of vast economic significance—not by equalizing American and British shipyard wages, for wages have risen in both countries and the difference still is wide—not by changing still further the relative cost of steel materials, for materials have risen sharply in both countries (ship-plates selling in August, 1916, at \$66.91 a ton at Pittsburgh and at \$69.35 at Middlesborough)—but by giving American steel shipyards for the first time

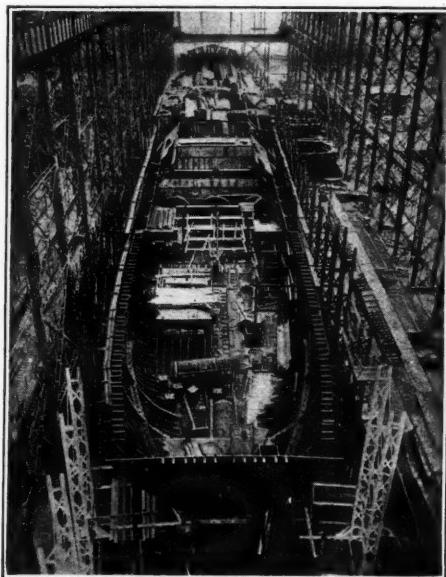


Photo by Paul Thompson

THE BOILERS IN PLACE ON A BIG TANKER  
(To the right, the keel of another vessel is being laid)

in their history a chance to work to full capacity on selected, standardized types of ships and thus to secure experience, facility, and the economy of large production. It is not probable that even now American ship cost is as low as British ship cost—but it is undoubtedly a great deal nearer than ever before.

British technical authorities before the war credited the best American yards with more modern mechanical plants and more practical and effective organization. In the long run, the better-paid American employees with equal experience should be the better workers. In recent years owners who have bought and operated both American-built and foreign-built steel ships have often testified that, though the American vessels cost more, they were worth more—not only in the excellence of their mechanical finish but in design, equipment, and durability—requiring notably fewer and less expensive repairs. That the Yankee has a genius for metal-working as well as for wood-working the world sufficiently knows.

Yet it would be rash to conclude that when the war ends the world will continue to come to America for its ocean tonnage and find New England, New York, the Delaware, and the Chesapeake cheaper markets than the Clyde, the Tyne, and the Wear. The truth is that nobody can know now with any certainty just what comparative economic conditions will be in the warring lands when the strife at arms is over. It is a fair assumption, however, that both capital and labor in the United States will have made diligent use of the opportunity and that no difference of 40 per cent. or anything like it will separate American and British ship costs. America will certainly be a real competitor again.

#### THE HIGHER COST OF SHIP OPERATION

But relative cost of ship construction is by no means the only factor in the problem of the merchant marine. There is also the relative cost of operation—the cost of maintenance. Here, also, in the years before the war the advantage was heavily against the American flag in international commerce. On the Pacific Ocean it was an extreme case of a \$40-a-month American seaman against an \$8- or \$10-a-month Chinese or Japanese—and the American Oriental trans-Pacific lines could live only by the employment of Asiatic labor. On the Atlantic the odds were less and yet substantial.

This higher cost of maintenance is not, as has so frequently and hastily been said, a matter of "antiquated" or too rigid navigation laws and regulations. Until this war, all ships of American registry were required to have American officers, but unless they were fast mail ships under contract with the Government they were not required to carry American crews—not a man below the rank of officer in charge of a watch need be an American citizen. Yet, because of the fact that an American vessel, not by compulsion of law, but by habit and convenience, usually fitted out and began its voyage at an American port, economic law, not statutory law, demanded that when it shipped its crew it should pay a wage comparable with the wages paid on shore in the "hinterland" of the port, and comparable with the standards of life there prevailing.



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PUTTING UP THE STEEL FRAMEWORK OF AN OIL TANK STEAMSHIP

A British machinist or weaver who, emigrating, comes down the gangplank and goes to work in an American machine shop or factory does not accept the pay rate of his native land, but claims and receives the wage of the workers around him here. So it is with the Scandinavian sailor or the Greek or Spanish fireman—he demands the wages of the port and country. This wage difference is so important that several years ago the International Mercantile Marine Company, operating, as is well known, many British, a few American, and a few Belgian steamers, placed three American-built ships,

the *Finland*, *Kroonland*, and *Samland*, beneath the Belgian flag to avail itself of the appreciable economy sure to follow on the change of colors. Not until the completion of the Panama Canal gave an opportunity for profitable coastwise service were the *Finland* and *Kroonland* returned to the American flag—and the *Samland* still retains an alien registry.

Even Britain, titular mistress of the seas, with her world-girdling trade, her helpful consular service, her dominance of marine underwriting, and her generously subsidized imperial mail lines to all quarters of the globe, has steadily felt the pinch of competition of powers with wages and standards of living beneath her own. The Germans,

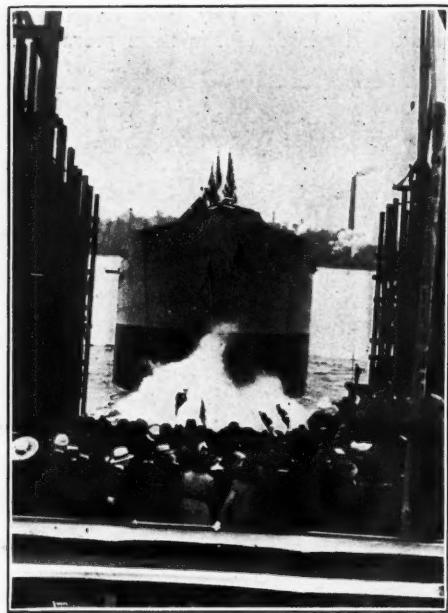
was the chief beneficiary of the change. If "Der Tag" had been deferred some years more, it is conceivable that the German merchant fleet of ships and sailors, on a lower wage scale, would have exceeded the British fleet, and the Imperial navy would naturally have been strong in proportion—with momentous consequences to the free nations of the world.

It is the British Admiral Jellicoe who, speaking the other day to his countrymen, paid the British merchant marine the most impressive tribute in its history. "The task of keeping the large number of our navy ships working in all ports of the world, of supplying them with fuel, munitions, etc.," he said, "can only be recognized by those in possession of all the facts. This work involves a great effort on the part of the mercantile marine. Without our mercantile marine the navy—and, indeed, the nation—could not exist."

These words of the British Admiral have their weighty lesson also for America, for it is true, too, for us that without a great mercantile marine the navy, that must be our first line of defense in any war, cannot exist. It is more than a commercial question—it is a vital question of national security and independence—that the present expansion in our shipyards and the splendid quickening of our whole maritime life should not end with the war which is their occasion. The very fate of the present conflict hangs, in the words of the distinguished British envoy, Mr. Balfour, upon America's ability to supply, to save the Allied cause, "ships and more ships, and yet more ships!" He and his people are appealing now to what an earlier generation of Britons knew well—the incomparable American genius for the sea, its life and its adventure. In war and in peace among the most glorious chapters of American history are those which portray the achievements of our race upon the ocean. Is this shipbuilding revival a brief spurt of activity or a true and lasting renaissance?

#### WAR-GROWTH OF OUR OVERSEAS TONNAGE

On June 30, 1914, the United States, nominally because of its immense coast and lake trade the second maritime power in the world, had only 1,076,000 tons of shipping registered for foreign trade out of a total merchant tonnage of 7,928,000. These 1,076,000 tons of registered American shipping, in 1914, sufficed to convey only 9.7



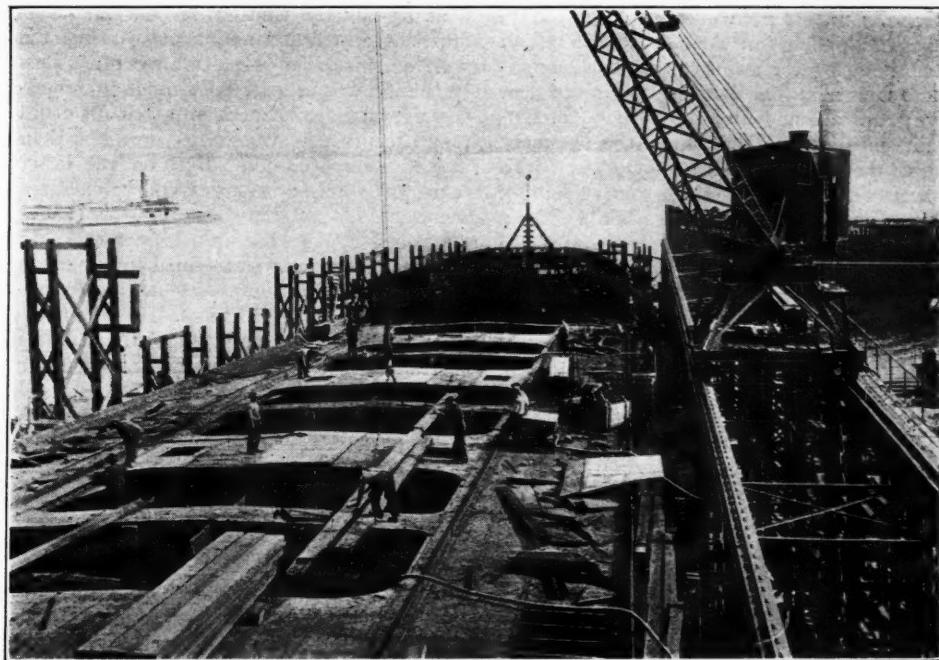
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LAUNCHING THE STEEL SHIP "SCANDINAVIC"  
(Built by the Standard Shipbuilding Corporation)

the Scandinavians, the Italians, the Greeks, the Japanese, can all "man out" ships more cheaply than the Britons, though one-third of the crews of the British merchant marine of late years have been Chinese or Lascars.

#### OUR VITAL NEED OF AN OCEAN FLEET

In 1870 the British proportion of entries and clearances at British ports was 70 per cent. In 1914 it had ominously declined to 56 per cent.—and the German merchant flag



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LAYING THE GIRDERS ON THE DECK OF AN OIL TANKER

per cent. of the value of our imports and exports. On June 30, 1915, American tonnage registered for foreign trade had nearly doubled, to 1,871,000 tons carrying 14.3 per cent. of our imports and exports. This notable increase in a single year was due to two principal causes—first the admission of 143 foreign-built but American-owned vessels of a total of 513,000 tons to American registry, and second the transfer of about 300,000 tons of American coastwise vessels to overseas routes.

There had not been time to construct many new ships and equip them for distant voyages. After another year, on June 30, 1916, our tonnage registered for foreign trade had increased still further, to 2,191,000 tons, carrying 16.3 per cent. of our imports and exports. In this fiscal year 1916 only twenty-six foreign-built vessels of a total tonnage of 69,000 had been admitted to American registry; while 160 American vessels of a total tonnage of 102,000 had been transferred to foreign registry. In this year whatever gain had been achieved in our overseas fleet manifestly represented new American construction. American shipyards were at work in earnest.

#### THE "FREE SHIP" EXPERIMENT

By the Panama Canal Act approved on August 24, 1912, the historic American policy of reserving to American-built ships the right to fly the American flag in our waters had been in part abandoned. That Act opened to American registry for the foreign trade alone American-owned but foreign-built ships not more than five years old capable of carrying dry and perishable cargoes. But for nearly two years, or until the outbreak of the European war, this law stood on the statute books absolutely barren of results. Not one of the hundreds of foreign-built ships owned by American firms or corporations and operated for purposes of convenience or economy under foreign flags applied for registry under these provisions. Manifestly, the "free ship" policy long advocated by opponents of subsidy or other forms of national encouragement, and ardently favored by European steamship interests, had wholly failed to meet the test of experience, just as was predicted by American shipping men.

But in the early weeks of the war, on the recommendation of President Wilson, to

meet the urgent need of ships of any kind, Congress passed, on August 18, 1914, an Act removing the requirement that foreign-built ships admitted should be not more than five years old and exempting these foreign-built ships in the discretion of the President from the obligation to employ American officers and to comply with our inspection, survey and measurement laws. This was a war measure; it virtually preferred foreign-built to American-built vessels in the enforcement of the laws of the United States. The war had put a sudden and valuable premium upon the flag of the most powerful of then neutral carriers, and a very large fleet of vessels built abroad but American-owned immediately sought the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

#### "FREE SHIPS" BREAK DOWN

But two circumstances put a sudden end to the free working of this "free ship" expedient. One was the immediate demand of foreign officers and crews for the American rate of wages. On nine steamers of the United States Steel Corporation this amounted to an increase in the cost of operation from \$12,478 a month to \$17,537 a month, or about 40 per cent. W. R. Grace & Company, of New York, stated that wages and food on a steamship under the British flag amounted to \$1991 a month, and under the American flag to \$2773 a month. The steamship *Brindilla* of the Standard Oil Company under the German flag had a wage bill of \$936 a month, which advanced under the American flag to \$1763 a month.

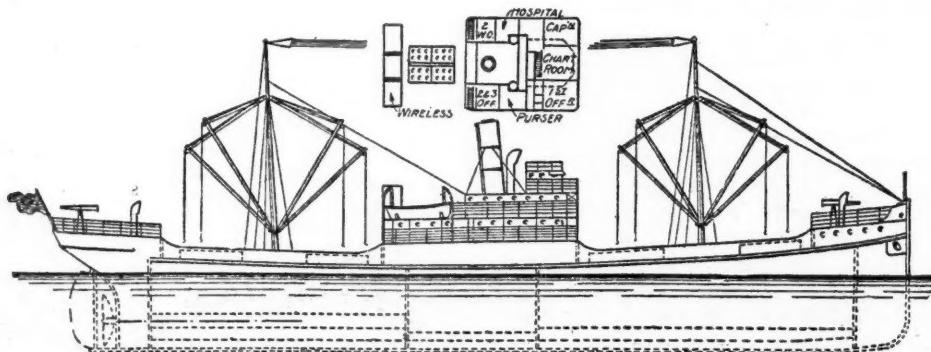
To prevent any further working of the "free ship" plan and to conserve existing tonnage, the British Government, followed by nearly all the other maritime nations, for-

bade by law the transfer of their merchant craft to any other nationality during the war or for some time afterward. This legislation was of direct advantage to American shipyards, for American merchants could now procure new vessels nowhere else than in the United States. But, on the other hand, the fact that vessels could be operated more cheaply under foreign flags than under American colors, and in some cases could receive foreign subsidies denied to American ships, produced an increasing sale of American ships to foreign owners.

In this way the former Pacific Mail liners *Korea* and *Siberia*, long familiar on the route from San Francisco to the Orient, deprived of their Chinese sailors, firemen and stewards by the La Follette seamen's law, passed over to the Japanese, who will take no American cargo until their own needs are filled. According to the Bureau of Navigation, between July 1, 1914, and February 28, 1917, ships transferred to the American flag from foreign flags numbered 204, of a total of 664,000 tons, and ships transferred from the American flag to foreign flags numbered 405, of a total of 351,000 tons.

#### PROFITABLE UNDER ANY FLAG

There is, of course, no need of, or call for, subsidies, subventions or special aids of any kind for American ships in the abnormal conditions now prevailing. American shipowners can pay the high wages of the war emergency and make profits out of the extraordinarily high rates of ocean freight. They cannot, however, make as high profits as foreign shipowners with lower costs of maintenance—which explains the transfer of so much tonnage from American to foreign registry in the past two years. To this same cause is due the striking new develop-



DESIGN OF THE WOODEN TYPE OF STEAMSHIP PLANNED BY THE UNITED STATES SHIPPING BOARD



A NEW BOSTON OVERSEAS FREIGHTER  
(Built by the New York Shipbuilding Corporation)

ment of foreign orders in American shipyards. A few weeks ago it was declared that no less than 750,000 tons of steel steamships building in this country was the property of foreign owners, chiefly British or Scandinavian—and it is understood that much of the tonnage nominally owned on Scandinavian account was actually paid for by money furnished by the British Government. Under any flag these new ships would be a lucrative investment. There are stories of vessels paid for by the earnings of one round voyage, and the present attractiveness of maritime investments can be conjectured from the sale recently reported for \$2,700,000 of an American-built freight steamer which cost \$630,000 when new four years ago.

#### MORE THAN 2,000,000 TONS

From American shipowners and from foreign shipowners the orders now being or about to be fulfilled in American shipyards call for a total of 537 steel vessels with a total tonnage of 2,039,000 and 167 wooden vessels with a total tonnage of 214,700. This is the formal report sent to the Senate on June 3 last by Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce. Because of the desire of the Navy Department, no further particulars as to the composition of this immense new fleet can be officially disclosed from Washington. But *Marine Engineering*, of New York, as the result of an unofficial and thorough canvass, announces totals in substantial agreement with those of Secretary Redfield, to the effect that 723 vessels of a total tonnage of 2,245,000 are now under construction. Of these, 319 of a total tonnage of 1,539,000 are classified as cargo steamships or motorships, seventy-seven of a total tonnage of 365,000 are tank ships

for oil, etc., ten of a total tonnage of 55,000 are combined passenger and cargo steamers, and 118 of a total tonnage of 159,000 are wooden craft or auxiliaries—the other 199 vessels of a total tonnage of about 128,000 being barges, tugs, or harbor craft. Of the entire new construction, 52.5 per cent. is on the Atlantic or Gulf coast, 33.2 per cent. on the Pacific, and 14.3 per cent. on the Great Lakes.

Analysis quickly shows that this is a powerful and valuable fleet, more than 90 per cent. of all the ships in hand in coast yards being of a distinctive deep sea type, while 75 per cent. even of the new ships on the Northern lakes are fit for ocean carrying.

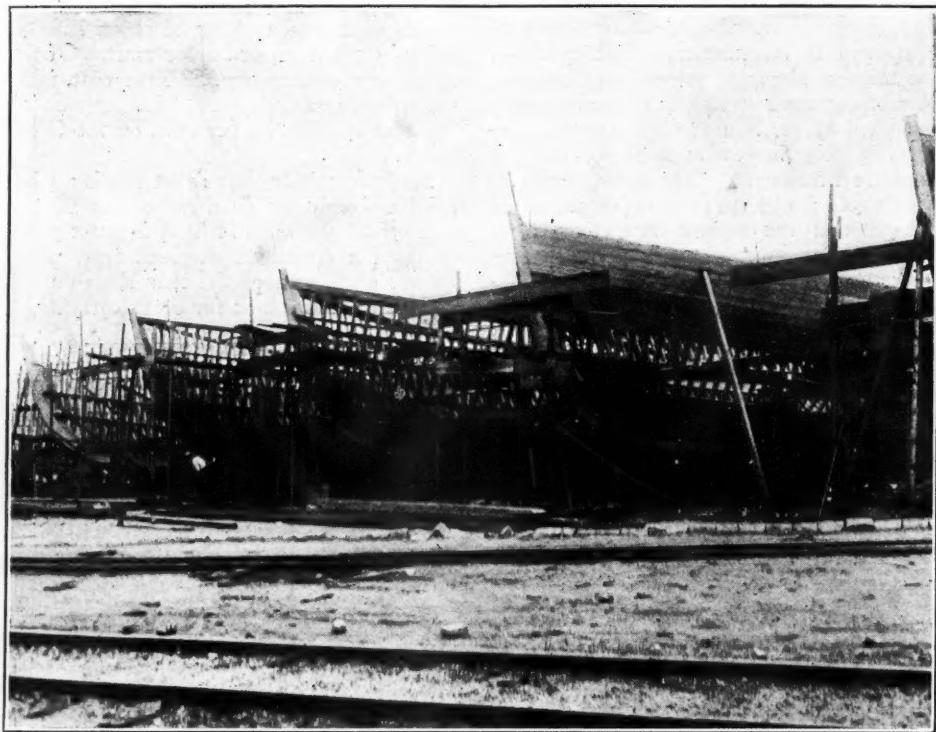
#### THREE MILLION TONS MORE

Now comes forward the United States Government, through the Emergency Fleet Corporation headed by Major-General Goethals, as the greatest prospective ship-owner in the world. With an appropriation of \$750,000,000 from Congress and more promised, General Goethals will build 3,000,000 tons of ocean carriers in addition to what American and foreign owners are now constructing in the private yards of the United States. Only a few of the Emergency Fleet Corporation contracts have yet been awarded, and work on these vessels has not yet begun or is in its preparatory stages. Part of these government ships are of steel, part are of wood, part are of composite construction—that is, with metal frames and wooden planking. Of the controversy between the steel-ship men and the wooden-ship men, only this need be said—that all the steel ships which America can build and all the wooden ships in addition will be imperatively needed to save the Allies and win the war.

Of the new United States Shipping Board with its great powers and responsibilities the country rightfully expects substantial results, though the sound sense of the American people does not wish to see the Government permanently engaged in the ocean shipping business in time of peace. This, in fact, is not contemplated or permitted in the letter of the law. The new government-built fleet will be leased or sold to practical ship-owners as rapidly as possible, and can be most efficiently operated in the control of private initiative and capital. But in this extraordinary emergency Uncle Sam has put his strong shoulders to the wheel, and he will not consent to seeing his money lost and his work undone when the emergency has ended. West and South have been

wakened by the war to the national need of American ships and seamen in times of war and peace. Western and Southern boys by the thousands are afloat in the navy and the merchant service, and many thousands more will be there before the war has ended.

We have become again a seafaring people—and a seafaring people the New Englanders and the coast folk of the North Atlantic have never ceased to be. No living man can now forecast the exact provisions of the national legislation that will be demanded to keep our shipyards full and our fleet active and prosperous when peace has been reestablished. But assuredly the nation whose ships and sailors must now make that peace possible will never again permit its flag to be driven from the ocean.



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A ROW OF NEW HULLS IN ONE OF THE BUSY SHIPYARDS OF THE UNITED STATES

# THE VITALIZATION OF CITY SCHOOLS

THE STORY OF A SCHOOL TEACHER WITH VISION AND OF SCHOOLS THAT SERVE THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE CHILD

THESE are days of many theories and experiments in matters of education. Many books, moreover, have appeared on ways to serve the immigrant and Americanize him and his children. It is an excellent and a helpful thing to find among these a book that is at once a sympathetic and informing study of the conditions of education in a great city and also an illuminating volume of suggestions as to the best means of Americanizing the alien and "Americanizing America." This book, entitled "A Schoolmaster of the Great City," is the result of years of close observation and careful experiment with our educational system by Mr. Angelo Patri, now principal of School No. 45 in the Borough of the Bronx, New York. Mr. Patri came to this country as a child of five from the mountain district near Naples. In his book he has told the story of the first school where he held a principalship, No. 4, in the Bronx, overlooking Crotona Park. Through his simple, modest narrative, which describes his struggle to get ideals into the actual working plan of the school, is revealed much that is new of the alien's view of America and his feeling for our educational system.

Before the Montessori method of kindergarten and primary work, which frees the child had come to this country, and before Gary, Indiana, had put the Wirt School Plan into practical operation, Mr. Patri successfully fought his critics and superiors, interested himself in the community, surrounded himself with efficient teachers and experimented with educational methods, until he had created a school that served the immediate needs of the children and was in fact, not in theory, a communal center.

Patri's book has been compared to Jacob Riis's portrayal of the lives of the common people in "How the Other Half Lives." Like Riis, he sees the flaws of our social and educational systems more clearly because of his foreign birth. Against the immigrant's dream of what America is, and means, he



MR. ANGELO PATRI AND MADAME MONTESSORI

contrasts the America of the past, and, so far as the average school and general social conditions go, of the present. His work has been done in New York, but his experiments are of interest in all American cities because of the steadily flowing tides of immigration that bring alien children and alien parents continually to our doors to be shaped into the enduring asset of American citizenship.

Patri went through the New York public schools a solitary, sickly child who needed to work and play and move about, but instead sat endless hours and progressed—as he puts it—"because he could remember words." He saw mutual distrust in the schools based on mutual misunderstanding between teacher and child. He continually felt the great social gulf between the American children and the foreign-born. The curriculum was taught, nothing more. There seemed no desire on the part of the teachers to enter in-



BOYS CONSTRUCTING THE GREENHOUSE AND TOOL HOUSE  
AT SCHOOL "NUMBER FORTY-FIVE"

to his life or assist in solving his problems. As he passed from lower to higher grades he felt himself slipping away from his parents, undervaluing them, and cherishing a kind of shame because they did not look or talk like Americans.

After graduating from the City College, he began to teach in the public schools and, with conditions reversed—himself as the superior where once he had been the subordinate—he found the educational routine still more unbearable, the discipline illogical, the children suffering in various ways under an inflexible system and the parents—especially those who were foreigners—out of touch with the school and the teachers. For six years he worked patiently on problems of educational reform in School No. 4. Reform came because of the pressure of public opinion, largely the result of a Parents' Association and an active communal interest in the school. He saw the school increase in numbers from slightly over 2000 children to nearly 4000. He watched over the neighborhood that at first seemed likely to develop into a slum quarter and helped to fight the evils that are bound to appear in a district with cheap tenements, cheap theaters and saloons, where the population changes rapidly owing to the flow of immigration toward open spaces and low rents. One of the important efforts which he made was the fight against the building of a State Armory in Crotona Park. He was successful and the park was saved for the children.

He brought into the school curriculum

gardening, music, dramatics, cooking, sculpture, and music, arranged out-of-door classes for anemic children, special classes for special needs, special teachers for defectives, social-settlement work with clubs and classes in music at the settlement house, obtained children's departments at the dispensary and a provision for a kindly woman who as "school visitor" investigated and adjusted the friction between the school and the home. The school became a living organism, a healthy, life-giving stimulus to the community.

While the practical good was being accomplished, his theory of education was taking form. Discipline troubled him. In Dewey's essay on "Ethical Principles," he found that conduct was the key to discipline in the school. "Conduct meant individual freedom and not blind adherence to formulated dogma. The knowledge gained had to be used immediately and the worth of the knowledge judged by its fitness for the im-



FOUR BOY FARMERS OF SCHOOL NO. 45

mediate needs of the child." The great fallacy in child education was the "training-for-the-future" idea. Finally, in large measure, he made the school in his community bridge the gulf between classes and increase solidarity and brotherhood. School No. 4 was on the way to combine academic education and trade education with social education, and make our pretense of equal opportunity for all a reality. And over the work of teachers, pupils, and parents was the spirit of human friendliness and the realization at last that trophies and scholarship meant little and that helpful work meant much, and that every fact of education must build a foundation for good citizenship.

#### THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GARY PLAN

In 1915, Mr. Patri was one of the principals chosen by Superintendent McAndrew to visit Gary and study the Wirt system of education, with the end in view of introducing the system into twelve schools in the Bronx. The Wirt plan has been interpreted by Mr. McAndrew as "instruction and practice with real things." "The American people are free, but American children are not," was Madame Montessori's comment on our schools. The Wirt method aims to free the child. Time is given to work, science, music, sculpture, pottery, gardening, cookery, sewing, etc. It follows Rousseau's precept: "Do not save time, but lose it," and like Pestalozzi and Froebel, translates theory into actual work in the schools, with particular stress upon work in the elementary grades. Mr. Wirt believed in giving children their own ways of "thinking, seeing and feeling," and that if the social side of a school is properly developed, that the pedagogical side will look after itself.



CARMEN CERELLI, ONE  
OF THE BOY POETS OF  
SCHOOL NO. 45

Mr. Patri was

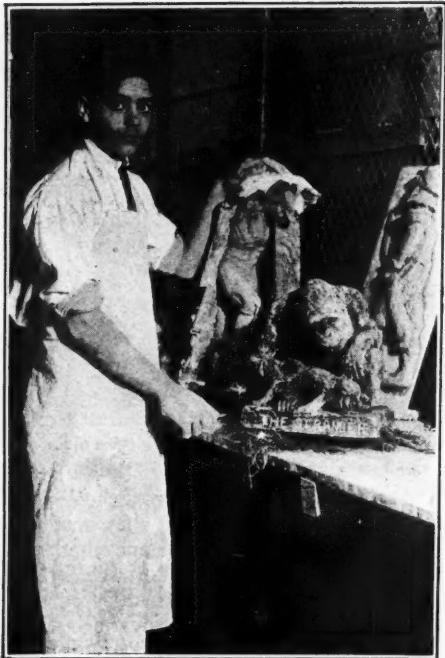


SCHOOL CHILDREN OF "NUMBER FOUR" IN CROTONA PARK  
OPPOSITE THE SCHOOL BUILDING

given the principalship of School No. 45, in the Bronx, and he has made it into a model Gary school—one that is a real community center. Education in the "Three Rs" and different trades progresses with entire harmony. Beside the school building a large new brick structure for shops is in course of erection. Opposite the school are the gardens with carefully weeded plots of vegetables, enclosed by a border of flowering shrubs and plants. In the garden is a practical greenhouse built by the boys of the school. Beyond the garden is a spacious playground filled from morning until night with divisions of happy children. The school proposes, if necessary funds can be obtained, to build a Greek theater in the playground and enclose the plot in a wall decorated with bits of sculpture made by the children and their parents. Some of the modeling done in the school is remarkable. "The Stranger," a gorilla, looking intently at a captured man, a crouching rat, and a rhinoceros are far from suggesting copying, and exceed in true artistic value much of the work done in pretentious art schools.

#### THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN PARENTS AND TEACHERS

Mr. Patri says that the children run the school and the teachers help them. The door to the principal's room is always open. Every pupil in the school and each and every member of the community has access to the principal. Mothers with babes in arms pour out their wishes in fluid Italian, small boys and girls wait their turn, group after group enter, take their turn and leave: there is no confusion and little noise.



A BOY SCULPTOR

(It took Ernest Pizzarelli six weeks to make a gorilla in the basement studio of School No. 45. Then he made the piece of statuary shown in the picture which he calls "The Stranger." It shows the figure of a pygmy man in the grasp of a huge gorilla)

The child who learns a new language and different habits from the neatly dressed teacher and goes back to a home where the parents do not speak English and cling to slovenly ways of living, soon tends to drift away from parental love and the family feeling unless corrective influences are brought to bear in the school. The children of foreign peasants and artisans are shown in the new schools how much better their parents can do certain kinds of work than the smart teacher. Antonio's father can raise more vegetables on a plot than the school gardener. Victor's father, who makes the replicas of classical sculpture, can do better than the teacher at modeling. Aida's mother can make more beautiful lace and embroider better than the sewing teacher.

This comparison to the advantage of the parents teaches the child their worth, engenders respect and encourages the child to help the parent to the things the school can bring him needful for his adult development. There is no single type in America so forlorn as the foreign parent deserted by the children who have been educated in the pub-

lic schools in such a way as to make them ashamed of their family. And I believe that statistics show that a large percentage of our younger criminals in States prisons are recruited from the children of foreigners who have drifted away from home influence and parental love and guidance.

#### CHANGED CONDITIONS THAT CONFRONT ALIEN LABOR

A pathetic bit of composition from one of Mr. Patri's school magazines, "The Planting," reveals the change in social atmosphere that chills the spirit of the immigrant:

In Italy I used to go out and see the farmers planting. They were happy as they were singing their beautiful songs. For they were planting seeds to grow flowers to get ready for the new spring-time. And when the sun set and work was done, home they went, tired and happy. Now in America there is no happiness. Only work and work and work.



ROBERT SCHIANO, A SCHOOL POET

An echo of the joyousness of labor instinctive in the Latin temperament is found in a book of poems, one of a series bronzed, illustrated, printed, and bound by the children of School Number Forty-five:

The street cleaner  
A happy man is he;  
He sings a song  
All day long;  
He knows he must sweep,  
So he does with all his heart.

And as a bit of spring fantasy there are these lovely lines, written by a little girl named Aida Farrella:

I love the lilacs,  
Their leaves are like hearts.  
When I go near the lilac bush,  
They bow to me  
And I bow to them.

Here are some lines to "Our Street," by Master Robert Schiano:

The girls skate up and down the street  
The boys play ball and scream,  
While the magnolia tree is budding,  
He spreads his branches far apart,  
'Tis a wonderful sight  
Our street, with the boys, the girls and the magnolia tree."

Mr. Patri favors teaching the fundamental principles of life, a basic soul-satisfying structure for the higher education, to the very young, lest our ethics become a mere matter of words. He believes that the Wirt system, working together with the high efficiency of the schools as social centers, will keep alive the child spirit in adults and show them how to get the greatest force in the world, parental love, into the nation in order to break down the inhibitions of habit, bring about instant reforms and remake the world upon the solid basis of brotherhood. "My ideal," he writes, "is that of a nation primarily interested in children."

#### WHAT THE SCHOOL MUST ASK

The school must constantly ask "What is the effect of my program on the soul growth of the children. What can I do to keep in touch with ideas that are vigorous and young. What can I do to keep sane, human, far-seeing. How can I respect the child's prolonged infancy and keep him from facing the struggle of the labor market until he is mentally and physically fit. How can I translate efficiency, goodness, will-training, citizenship, parental duty into child happiness?"

The schools must be made rich and alive, the teachers trained differently, the parents encouraged to become units in the school organization. Book-training and life-training must go hand in hand. There must be



THE OUT-OF-DOOR CLASS FOR ANEMIC CHILDREN AT SCHOOL NO. 4

constant interchange of effort between the school and the community. Bring the community to the school and then give the work of the school to the community.

The race needs a principle of growth and the child is the one factor that in itself keeps changing, growing. We develop national characteristics in accord with our adherence to a common ideal. We must, therefore, surrender ourselves for the common good and the common good to which we should surrender is epitomized in the child idea. . . . I have been part of many movements to Americanize the foreigner. The child is the only one who can carry the message of democracy. No matter who the people are, they need the school as a humanizing force, so that they may feel the common interest, revive their visions, see the fulfilment of their dreams in the terms of their children, so that they may be young once more. Americanize the foreigner, nay, through the child let us fulfil our destiny and Americanize America. . . . I look a thousand years ahead and I see not men, ships, inventions, buildings, poems, but children, shouting happy children.

Mr. Wirt has commended "A Schoolmaster of the Great City"<sup>1</sup> as a vivid picture of the difficult problem of actually doing in the school what we all know should be done there. John Martin, chairman of the Committee on Vocational Schools and Industrial Training, writes:

Were I an educational czar, I should issue an edict that every city teacher must read this book three times during her vacation. If its spirit could take possession of every school, a revolution would be effected more fundamental than the glorious Russian revolution.



A CORNER OF THE MILLINERY CLASS  
AT SCHOOL NUMBER FORTY-FIVE

<sup>1</sup> A Schoolmaster of The Great City. By Angelo Patri. Macmillan. 221 pp. \$1.25.

# NEW YORK'S EDUCATION LAW REVISED

BY A. EMERSON PALMER

THE new education law for the State of New York, which was signed by Governor Whitman on June 8, is of more than local interest. It is a State-wide act, applicable to all cities large and small. While those interested in education differ widely in their opinions regarding some of its features, its enactment marks a distinct step—and probably a long step—in advance. The plan of codifying the numerous laws relating to public education placed upon the statute books from time to time during nearly a century (the earliest of the acts repealed dates from 1829) has been in high favor in the State Department of Education for several years, and a number of attempts were made to secure a general education law for the cities of the State before the one which lately proved successful. The Governor advocated such a measure in his annual message last January.

The new law is in consonance with the State Constitution, which imposes upon the Legislature the duty of providing for "the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of the State may be educated." To a certain extent the principle of home rule is embodied in the law, since existing methods of constituting boards of education are retained. In New York the members are appointed by the mayor; in Buffalo by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the council; in some cities they are chosen at the general or a municipal election; in others at a special election held for the purpose. In cities hereafter created they will be selected at annual school elections in May. The number of members is fixed at not less than three and not more than nine. In New York the number is to be seven—a radical reduction from the present board of forty-six, which has been in existence since 1902. This change is to take place on January 2, next, the appointments being made by the mayor who will be elected in November.

No attempt has been made to establish hard and fast rules placing all cities on the

same basis irrespective of size. Some provisions of the new law relate to "a city having a population of one million or more" (New York); others to "a city having a population of 400,000 or more and less than a million" (Buffalo); others to "each city having a population of less than one million"; still others to "a city of the second class" (having between 50,000 and 175,000).

Perhaps the greatest interest attaches to the changes provided for in the school administration of New York City. Evidences of this interest are already apparent in the requests received from other large cities for copies of the new law. The metropolis has at last fallen in line with the movement in favor of small school boards, of which there have been many illustrations in recent years. Apart from the reduction of the membership of the Board of Education from forty-six to seven, the outstanding change is the enlargement of the duties of the superintendent of schools (the word "city" has been stricken from his title, after having been in use since 1851). He is made the "chief executive officer" of the board and the educational system, and has "supervision and direction" not only of the associate and district superintendents, directors, supervisors, principals, and the teaching staff in general, but also of the secretary, the auditor, the officers having charge of buildings and supplies, and all clerks, stenographers, janitors, cleaners, and office boys. While obviously workable in smaller cities, the applicability of this plan to the biggest city in the country is open to doubt. Educational administration, strictly speaking, is the appropriate field of work for a school superintendent; he ought not to be burdened with the details of business.

The practical working of the new law will be observed with close and country-wide attention. A feature of it that deserves special mention, as respects New York City, is the provision for partial financial independence which is assured by increasing the three-mill tax to four and nine-tenths mills in the annual tax budget.



Photograph by E. S. Jones

#### IN THE HEART OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS

(The trail from Mount Washington follows the sky line over Monroe and Franklin and descends through the long spruce forest over Mount Clinton to the Crawford House in the foreground)

## MOUNTAIN TRAILS IN NEW ENGLAND

BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

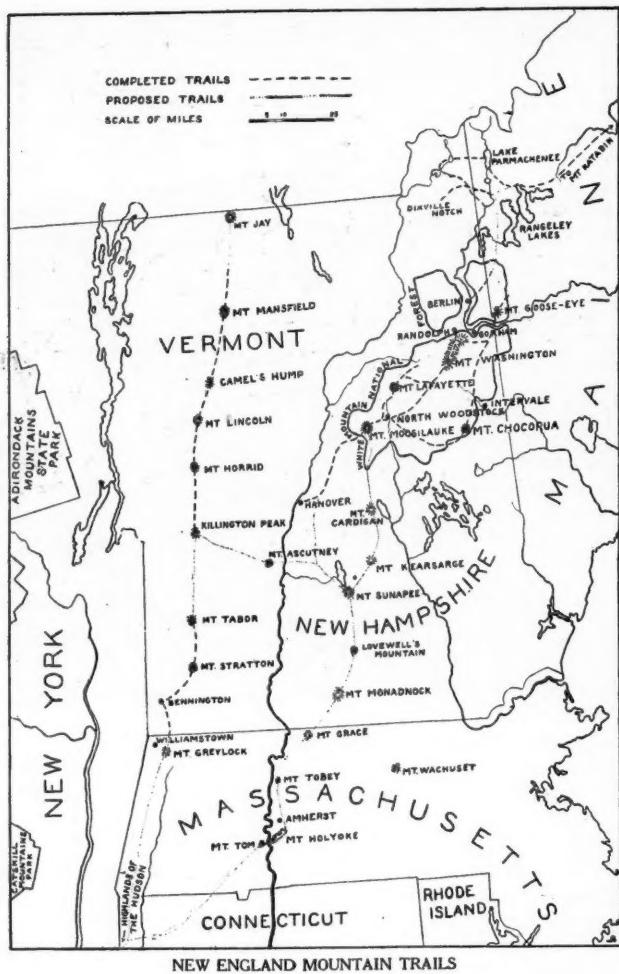


CAIRN ON THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT MADISON

MANY excellent trails make the White Mountains accessible. During twenty years the Appalachian Mountain Club has spent thousands of dollars in building well-marked trails of easy grade to the most interesting places. A dozen other organizations, children and grandchildren of the Ap-

palachian Club, are now extending the trails from different centers.

The Green Mountain Club is doing similar work in Vermont. It has planned a long trail from one end of the State to the other, over Mt. Killington, Camel's Hump and Mansfield, and has already completed about one-third of it. The Dartmouth Outing Club has constructed many miles of trails extending from Hanover over Mt. Moosilauke to the White Mountains, and has equipped them with a series of shelter cabins. This vigorous Dartmouth group, officered by students, has recently received an endowment for good work done of \$20,000. The Williams College Mountain Club



is at work in the northern Berkshires and will join the Mt. Graylock trails to the long trail of the Green Mountain Club. It is hoped that the Amherst Club will connect Mt. Holyoke, through the beautiful country northward, over Mt. Lincoln and Mt. Grace, to the proposed long trail in New Hampshire that will lead over Monadnock and Sunapee to the White Mountains. There is opportunity for other colleges to lend a hand.

The villages of North Woodstock, Intervale, and Gorham, in the White Mountains, have vigorous improvement associations devoted to trail-making. Each cares for long stretches of local trails, building some new trail every year. The Chocorua Mountain Club is another vigorous trail-maker.

These groups have all been federated recently into a New England Trail Conference that has an ambitious program. It seeks to bring all of the New England trails into one system, connecting them by means of trunk lines—no trunks allowed, only knapsacks. Already one may take a fifty-mile tramp through the Green Mountains or through the White Mountains without leaving the trail, but the two are not connected. The Appalachian Club and the Randolph Mountain Club have extended their trails to the interesting Grafton Notch in Maine, and to Mt. Goose-Eye, but they end there. Charming trails have been constructed in the neighborhood of Dixville Notch and the Diamond Ponds, located forty miles north of the White Mountains. They extend across the great unbroken wilderness of forest, stream, and mountain to Lake Parma-chenee, in Maine, but these trails also are not connected with any others.

The Trail Conference includes trail-makers from all of the clubs that have been mentioned, and a few others, teachers, lawyers,

business-men, and foresters, whose summer vacations have been employed, sometimes for years in succession, in opening up for the use of all the people the interesting parts of the mountains in New England which otherwise could be enjoyed only by the hardy few. The Conference has developed a far-reaching plan to connect the Interstate Palisades Park and the highlands of the Hudson with trails in the Berkshires in western Massachusetts, and these with the long trail in Vermont and the trails of the Dartmouth Outing Club to the White Mountains, thence by the new trails into Maine, and in time even on to Katahdin. For a part of the way an alternate route is proposed over Mt. Holyoke in the Connecticut Valley and over the long, high backbone of

New Hampshire mountains between the Connecticut and Merrimac valleys, over Monadnock and Sunapee, to the Franconia Range in the White Mountains.

In these days of hard oil finish, when the weary pedestrian is honked hither and thither in fear of his life, let him take courage, for soon he may start from New York with a light heart and a lighter pack, with Katahdin for his goal. He may go north up the Hudson, over Storm King, across to the Berkshires, over Graylock, and northward over the Green Mountains, enjoying the incomparable views from Camel's Hump, and the high nose of Mansfield, on over the high ranges of the White Mountains, through the Grafton Notch, and through the wonderful forest and lake country of Maine to the headwaters of the Penobscot on Katahdin; and thence by river boat and ocean steamer back to New York, without so much as a smell of gasoline. Those views from Camel's Hump and Mansfield are really superb. On a clear day one may easily discern the Adirondacks on one side and the White Mountains on the other.

The plans of the Trail Conference for extending and maintaining trails in the National Forest in the White Mountains have the cordial approval and coöperation of the forest officers in charge. The White Mountain National Forest now comprises 360,000 acres, or 638 square miles. This is about one-third of what it is hoped the Government will take, in order effectively to control stream flow in this mother region of New England rivers. The Government foresters will maintain two through trails over the National Forest, each about fifty miles in length, one over the skyline of the Franconia peaks and the Twin Mountains to the Presidential Range, and the other from Mt. Moosilauke over the Tamworth and Carter-Moriah Ranges. The greater part of these trails have been constructed by the Appalachian Club and others. Already one may make nearly the whole of this hundred-mile circuit, including most of the high peaks in all the White Mountain ranges. The Appalachian Club proposes to establish convenient shelters, three of which have been constructed. Each is located at an elevation of nearly 5000 feet, or almost a mile above the sea. They are substantial camps, built of stone or wood, and provided with clean blankets, and abundant and wholesome food at moderate prices. One need carry no more than a light change

July—6



© Photograph by Guy L. Shorey

CLIMBING OUT OF THE GREAT GULF BY THE SIX HUSBANDS TRAIL

of clothing in his knapsack, by which the joy of mountain climbing is much enhanced. The Appalachian Club maintains also twenty or more open bark or log shelters to which any one may go, taking food and blankets.

For the benefit of those who have not visited these trails in the White Mountains, as well as for those who have done so, let us make a brief trip over one of them, the skyline trail on the Presidential Range. Starting from the little railroad station called Appalachia, in Randolph, New Hampshire, at an elevation of 1200 feet, one ascends in an easy half-day tramp along the Valley Way to the Madison Spring Huts. This Valley Way is a trail that climbs the mountain beside the Snyder Brook from its mouth to its source in the Madison Spring. The brook has a thousand little falls that gurgle in the ear long after the scene has changed. The trail leads to the huts, where Appalachian hospitality awaits you. They are placed in a little valley between the summits of Mt. Madison and Mt. Adams, two of the highest mountains in New Hampshire.

If you make the short climb up the cone of Madison to see the sun rise, you will be

more than repaid as the morning light touches one after another of the multitude of hills below. From the huts the main trail climbs over Mt. Adams, with its several rocky promontories, Sam Adams, John Quincy Adams, John Quincy Junior, and all the rest of the Adamses, stretching away down through history. Farther on one swings around the edge of the Great Gulf, which is a deep, tumultuous valley full of primeval forest—National Forest, which like the Cologne Cathedral, is too magnificent to belong to any individual; thence the path leads around the summit of Jefferson and over Mt. Clay to the summit of Washington. Here a comfortable mountain hotel provides a counter lunch, substantial and at moderate prices, and a clean bed with real sheets; or one may prefer to go a mile farther to the new hut of the Appalachian Club, situated on Mt. Washington at the Lake of the Clouds. Have you ever slept a mile up in the sky, after a day's tramp over the mountains? If so, you will remember John Muir, and realize that here "cares drop off like Autumn leaves." Thence the trail descends by another half day's easy journey around the rocky summits of Monroe, Franklin, and

Mt. Pleasant, down through the long spruce woods on Mt. Clinton to the Crawford House.

There are in the mountains long valley trails, up the brooks to their sources and down others, crossing from watershed to watershed. There is the wonderful trail on the skyline over the Franconias, Liberty, Lincoln, and Lafayette. The trail over the Carter-Moriah Range is not less interesting.

As a part of the system of New England trails, it is hoped that the people all along the line will like to connect up. Let the Amherst men and the people in Dublin in the neighborhood of Monadnock, and those at Sunapee, connect their trails, so that the little used but rarely beautiful Pumelly trail, extending for two miles on the skyline of Monadnock, may be more often traversed; and that one may go, perhaps, over the historic Lovewell's Mountain, to which it is said that John Lovewell carried on his back a bushel of potatoes one hundred and fifty miles from Portsmouth in order to start the crop; then to that gem of lakes near the summit of Mt. Sunapee, Lake Solitude, from which one may see the distant White Mountains on the horizon, and thence—and thence—



Photograph by Guy L. Shorey

THE APPALACHIAN CLUB SHELTER CAMP BEFORE AN OPEN-AIR FIRE-PLACE IN THE GREAT GULF.  
(These trail-side camps are free to trampers)

# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## LABOR HOURS AND OUTPUT IN WAR-TIME

**A**MONG various war measures proposed during the past few weeks, there have been suggestions that legal safeguards for the protection and welfare of industrial workers should be suspended in order that work upon Government contracts for ships and munitions might be hastened. The Council of National Defense has urged that the governors of States be vested with authority to suspend or modify legal restrictions at the recommendation of the Council.

In the first year of the war England went through a similar experience. It was thought necessary that the labor day should be greatly lengthened and even that women and children should be employed at night. This movement went so far that seven-day work became the rule. Restrictions that had been in force for a century were thrown to the winds. These conditions went on for a year until the strain of overwork had all but exhausted the workers, and symptoms of unrest appeared.

In a summary of the English experience, contributed to the *Survey* (New York) by Miss Henriette R. Walter, of the Sage Foundation, it is clearly brought out that what finally brought the British Government to its senses was not so much the exhaustion of the laborers as the fact that this abuse and waste of human strength totally failed to produce the desired results. The munition plants, which had been privately owned and operated, fell far short in output, and even after the government itself took over the control there was the same complaint. In September, 1915, a committee on the health of munition workers was ordered by Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions. This committee was created "not with any idea of sentimentalizing over the hardship of the workers, but for the very practical purpose of finding out how the maximum

output could be secured and maintained over a long period."

After much study of the subject the committee decided that a weekly day of rest must be restored. It was found absolutely essential that the workers should have some opportunity to recuperate after the accumulated fatigue of a seventy- or eighty-hour week. One large firm found that when, after running its plant seven days a week over a considerable period, the Sunday holiday was restored without any change in the daily schedule, the men worked a greater number of hours in the six days than they had in seven because of a consequent falling off in the amount of "broken time." Sunday work has now been almost entirely abolished, except for occasional repair work.

The committee then looked into the question of overtime. It studied the exact relation between the volume of production and the period of work. The output of groups of workers, both men and women, engaged in light work and in heavy work was followed over periods of from four to six months, during which several changes in working hours were put into effect. For example: A reduction from 68.2 to 59.7 in the average weekly hours of work by a group of 100 women engaged in the heavy labor of turning fuse bodies resulted in a 23 per cent. increase in hourly output and a natural rise of 8 per cent. in total weekly output. Further decrease in hours to fifty-six a week and even less showed not only an equally large product but also a decided improvement in regularity of attendance by the women. This case is said to be typical of the findings of the investigators.

The committee gave certain maximum hours for different types of work and workers, beyond which output cannot be increased, but was emphatic in declaring that

even these were war maxima, involving too great a strain for any but the strongest to bear. For men on very heavy work the maximum hours should be no more than fifty-six; for men on moderately heavy work, sixty; for men on light work, seventy; for women on heavy work, fifty-six, and on light work about sixty. The eight-hour day has been established for women in all state-owned plants, and overtime has everywhere been decreased.

In the *Catholic World* (New York) for June, Dr. Frank O'Hara describes war experience with labor standards not only in England but in several of the other belligerent countries. From a report of a French official he quotes this remark: "Some surprise has been expressed that in a number of establishments Sunday is a day of rest and no night work is performed. Experience has prescribed certain regulations if the strength of workers is to be safeguarded, not only in view of a prolonged struggle, but as well for the economic needs of the country after the war." Dr. O'Hara con-

cludes from this that France, threatened with being "bled white" by the war, cannot afford to throw away her human resources needlessly. In the early days of the war the French Minister of Labor had suspended the prohibition of night work in industrial establishments, but the results were so unsatisfactory that the Under Secretary of State said: "The experience of war has demonstrated the technical, economical, physiological necessity of the labor laws enacted in time of peace. Under such conditions we find a better grade of manufacture and more intense production."

In Germany, as well as in England, it has been found that juvenile criminality has increased with the extensive employment of minors. In 1915 there were twice as many crimes committed by children in Berlin as in 1914. In England and Scotland the number of children and young persons charged with punishable offenses seems to have increased about 34 per cent. Such offenses increased 56 per cent in Manchester between 1914 and 1915.

## WILL GERMANY REVOLT?

IT is not absolutely certain, but highly probable, in view of the historic character of the German nation, says Mr. J. Ellis Barker in the *Nineteenth Century*.

The theory sometimes put forward that the Germans are a servile race which has never revolted during the whole course of its history, and that they are, therefore, not fit for self-government, is one that is not borne out by history. By nature, history, and tradition the Germans are democrats. The character of most nations has remained curiously stable through the centuries, and the earliest and best description of the Germans, that of Tacitus, shows them to have been free democracies, presided over by elected kings. This aboriginal democratic spirit strongly asserted itself during the development of feudalism, and even at the beginning of the seventeenth century Germany was an assemblage of self-governed and democratic states.

The Thirty Years' War, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, and devastated all Germany, dealt a fearful blow to German democracy. The Emperor's power was destroyed; the individual princes strove for mastery, until ultimately, under the Great

Elector Frederick William and his Hohenzollern successors, Brandenburg-Prussia became the most autocratic state in the world, and in our own time acquired the hegemony of all Germany. But, although almost crushed and stamped out of existence, the ancient democratic spirit of the German people is probably not yet killed, and it is yet possible that Mr. Lloyd George's ironic utterance on April 12 may prove a correct forecast. "Prussia," he said, "is no democracy. The Kaiser promises that she will be a democracy—after the war. I think he is right."

Mr. Barker says:

Many who consider the possibility of a revolution in Germany imagine that it will be brought about by the huge Social Democratic Party. They are wrong. In Germany, where Parliament is powerless, a revolution cannot be made by a single party, however strong. It can be brought about only if the bulk of the nation, regardless of party, is determined to change the existing form of government and if the army is with it. A serious German defeat would give a fatal blow to the privileges of the ruling aristocracy and of the military caste and to the prosperity of the great industrial and commercial middle-class. Therefore it seems likely that in case of defeat the aristocracy, the army, and the liberal middle-class may turn against the Emperor.

# THE FUTURE OF BRITISH FREE TRADE

UNDER the title, "L'effort Économique de l'Angleterre," M. L. Paul-Dubois, an eminent French economist, surveys in the *Revue des deux Mondes* the economic position of Great Britain, internal and external, as affected by the gigantic exertions and sacrifices called forth by the war. The concluding portion of the article, which deals with the status of Britain's traditional free-trade policy, as related to the question whether, after the war, London is to yield to New York the financial primacy of the world, is of special interest for Americans.

It is not only that the foreign credit of the United Kingdom has been maintained, and, consequently, its purchasing power, but alone among all the powers at war, England has succeeded in maintaining gold redemption at home. At a time when all the belligerent states were obliged to resort to a forced domestic currency, the Bank of England never ceased to redeem its bills in gold on demand. This, after more than two years of war, is a success which signally attests the financial power of the country as well as the firm mastery of its administrators.

And it is a thing to inspire our friends across the Channel with confidence in the future of the London market as the financial center of the world. Naturally, the war now going on will change many things. In face of a Europe enfeebled and in debt, will not the United States, recent initiator and future beneficiary of financial pan-Americanism, wrest from England her primacy of riches, her financial scepter? Already a discount-market is being established in New York; the federal law relating to banks has just been modified in its favor.

Does this mean that, the war being concluded, New York will supplant London, as London formerly supplanted Amsterdam, as far as the gold and credit market are concerned? Will the dollar dethrone the pound Sterling? Futile though it be to prophesy, one can not refrain from observing that the English are not defenseless in the conflict which is looming up between Wall Street and "the City." Finance follows commerce, and it is commercial supremacy—and we may add maritime and colonial—that the Americans will have to achieve before achieving financial supremacy. What constitutes the financial strength of England is not so much her wealth as the power of her commerce, of her marine, of her colonial empire, bearing in mind, besides, the two strongest points of her armament, free trade and "free gold." If she succeeds in maintaining gold redemption to the close of the war, though it be by paying enormous sums to foreign countries for herself and her allies, she will have attained, as Sir E. Holden says, "a financial triumph as important as a military victory," and she will be able to face without fear the competition in the financial field which the United States is preparing to engage in—provided she remains faithful to the economic tradition which has created her prosperity, the principle of free trade.

But will she remain faithful to it? That is the question which suggests itself to-day, and which interests non-English people almost as much as the English themselves. It is well known that the old cult of free trade, so popular across the Channel, so firmly anchored in the national spirit, has been attacked during the last fifteen years or so by a section of the Conservative party, under the impulse given by Joseph Chamberlain. They charged it with leaving British industry defenseless in face of the rapid development of German and American competition, and with injuring the export trade; they demanded, under the slogan of Tariff Reform, a moderate protection which would enable the manufacturers to fight against foreign competition, and the Government to negotiate customs treaties, and which, by favoring colonial commerce, would conduce to draw closer the links that bind the colonies to the mother-country, and strengthen the Imperial union. Although the protectionist principle had gained a rather notable place in public opinion, it is hard to believe that its triumph could have been regarded as near had it not found in the present war a cause for encouragement and, at the same time, powerful arguments in its favor.

The writer proceeds to show how the cause of protection was promoted, in specific ways, by the war sentiment that was abroad in England from the beginning:

It profited at the very start by the indignation provoked by the barbarism of the "Huns," by the perfidy of the German infiltration in England, by the fundamental dishonesty of German commerce, which, with its corruption, dumping, and disloyal competition, was but a forerunner of Teuton militarism. Was it not essential to defend one's self against the public scourge of Germanism? Was it not a right and a duty to boycott Germany? It profited, furthermore, by the agitation which was aroused when it was discovered that England was dependent for a number of products of prime necessity, and of those designed for war, upon German industry. Formerly, the words "Made in Germany" called forth a smile; would they not move one to tears now? Was it not requisite to maintain at any cost certain basic industries upon which the life itself of the country depended? It profited, finally, by the stir made by the Germans concerning their plan of a customs union of the Central Powers, by the menace to the Allies and the neutral nations implied in an economic *bloc*, powerful and hostile, ready to resume the commercial invasion of Europe. Was it not requisite to provide against the danger of *Mitteleuropa*? The equilibrium of the economic world is overthrown: does not a new situation require a new policy?

The strength of this protectionist pressure may be gauged in the light of certain striking facts—first of all, in the old citadel of Cobdenism, by what has been termed—though with exaggeration—the "Manchester Revolution." At the outset of 1916 the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, having proposed to the members of that body (in order to feel their way, it is said)

that a vote be taken upon a declaration of the principle of free trade, found that motion rejected by a great majority; upon which, having resigned their posts, they were replaced by a council favorable to protection against Germany. Then, on the 29th of February, it is a conference of the English Chambers of Commerce at London which concurs in the program of the neo-protectionists. That program soon gains the approval of a hundred and eight Chambers of Commerce, as well as that of the Imperial Council of Commerce.

The colonies, moreover, favored the movement. Australia, in particular, whose ultra-intervention tendencies are well known, sent to London, in the spring of 1916, her Premier, William Hughes, who conducted an impassioned protectionist campaign, showing what Teutonic enterprise had meant before the war in the great Australian Continent, how Germany had succeeded in monopolizing the trade in metals, and to what energetic measures the Government had to resort to break its grip: defend yourselves, he said to the English, let us defend ourselves against the common foe; let us organize an Imperial Union, so that after the war the word "Empire" will signify something more than it has hitherto done. An appeal issuing from the new Anglo-Saxon communities could not, of course, leave the British public unmoved. After the blood shed for the common cause by so many colonial volunteers, Canadians, South Africans, "Anzacs," on the battlefields of Europe, how could the mother-country, with her great debt of gratitude to her colonies, fail to feel it her duty to lend a sympathetic ear to their voice, and to reserve to them her greatest favors in the future economic regime? Such Imperialist sentiments and the popularity of the Australian Premier swelled the protectionist wave in England, and for a space one might have believed that it would sweep all before it.

Still the free-traders held their ground.

They maintained that the severe tests of war had justified their position. The fact that German monopolies had been permitted to gain a foothold on British soil was explained as the natural outcome of technical and scientific superiority on the part of Germany and of British inertia and adherence to routine methods.

They declared, moreover, that after the war economic laws would continue to rule and that freedom of trade would be more than ever essential to England's commercial supremacy. An economic war, on the other hand, might work greater harm to those who wage it than to those against whom it is directed. Destruction of Germany's commerce would destroy her ability to pay a just indemnity to the Entente Allies after the war.

As for a radical change in England's traditional tariff policy I confess that I cannot believe in it. That policy is too deeply rooted in the people's minds, it harmonizes too well with the general interests of the country to be easily overturned; and the road of protectionism is sown with too many obstacles for the nation to plunge into it rashly. In spite of the "Manchester Revolution," the "idol" of free-trade still holds its own. That recourse may be had to defensive commercial measures against Germany and Austria, to measures agreed upon with her allies, is probable and desirable, and consonant with the views proposed at the Paris Conference; but this does not mean that England, which was the great pioneer of economic as well as political freedom, will suddenly renounce principles which have constituted her strength: and the French—friends, allies, customers of England—French, could not wish her to do so.

## AUSTRIAN SUBMARINES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

**A**CTIVITIES of the Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean have been responsible for considerable loss of Allied shipping, both naval and merchant. Recently the Italian Government has published a summary of the development of the Austrian submarine fleet which dates back to a time when the relations of Germany with Italy were still nominally on a friendly footing. The Italian Government was able to recover from several of the captured or sunk submarines log-books and other documents, and at the same time they have been able to salve and repair for incorporation in their own fleet various enemy submarines.

This report, which is abstracted in a recent issue of the *Engineer* (London), is a

document of unusual interest. At the outbreak of the war, there were but six Austrian submarines, all launched in 1908-1909, built either at the Pola Arsenal, at the Germania Yard, at Kiel, or at the Whitehead Works at Fiume. Six new submarines of 1000 tons displacement were under construction for the Austrian Government at the Germania Yard, Kiel, but none had been delivered prior to August, 1914. After the outbreak of the war, however, the *U-12* was torpedoed and sunk by an Italian submarine in August, 1915, and the *U-3*, an earlier boat, was sunk about the same time by the French destroyer, *Bisson*. It was about this time that the German Government was reported to be dispatching submarines of the

coastal type overland to Adriatic ports to be assembled and made ready for sea. That this was true has been demonstrated by the documents referred to in the report. When the Italians captured the *U C-12*, a German submarine mine-layer, the log-book was recovered and showed that this craft was a unit of the German Navy, manned by a purely German crew, and was actively engaged against Italy months before that country had declared war on Germany.

This submarine was one of a very large number built by Germany for the special purpose of laying mines. These crafts are comparatively small and were built rapidly, as was shown by the decidedly crude construction. The *U C-12* was of essentially similar type to the *U C-5* which was captured by a British destroyer in April, 1915. This type of vessel has a displacement of 190 tons on the surface and 200 tons when submerged. It is approximately 110 feet in length with a maximum diameter of ten feet. On the surface it is propelled by a four-cylinder, ninety horsepower Diesel engine, which drives the boat at a speed of six knots with an underwater velocity of but four knots. In front of the conning tower there is a demountable machine gun carried on a tripod, but no other armament, while in the fore part of the vessel there are six wells provided, each of which contains two submarine mines released by a control operated from the conning tower.

The *U C-12*, according to her log-book, was one of two mine-laying submarines which Germany placed at the disposal of Austria-Hungary for the war against Italy. She was launched in May, 1915, from the Weser Yard, Bremen, and on May 17 took on a cargo of mines at Kiel. After Italy had declared war on Austria, she was dismantled, divided into four sections, and carried overland with her crew and commander to Pola, where in four days she was reassembled and again took the water. On July 25 and August 15, the *U C-12* visited the neighborhood of an Italian naval base and there laid two barriers of mines, while in the following December she transported a cargo of rifles and munitions to the rebellious Arabs in Libya. The next activity of the *U C-12* was cruising off Durazzo and sowing mines in the roadstead. Soon after this in visiting an Italian naval base, which had been the object of her interest, she either fouled one of her own mines or blundered into a similar defense device, with the

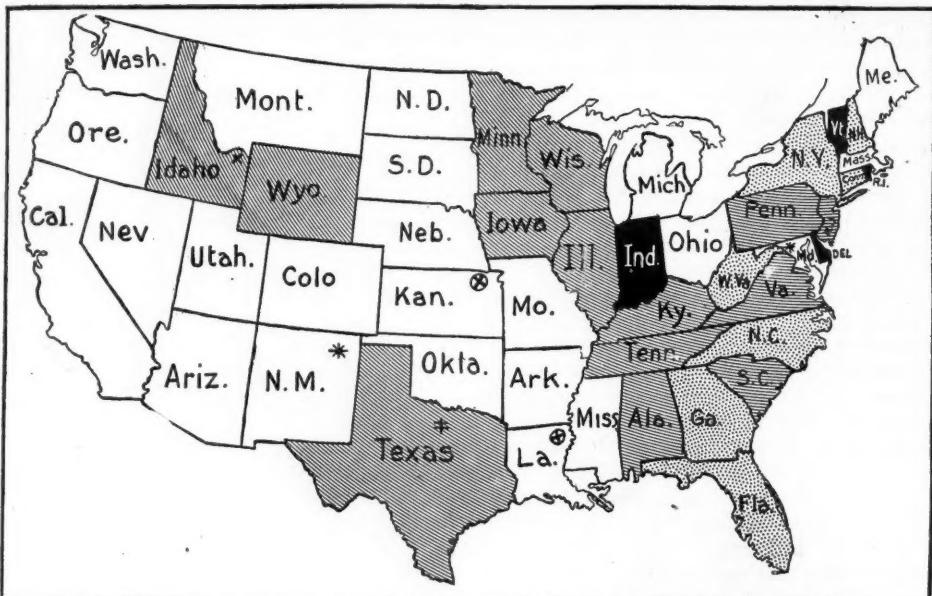


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THE GERMAN MINE-LAYING SUBMARINE "UC-5,"  
OF PRACTICALLY THE SAME TYPE AS THE "UC-12,"  
WHICH WAS PLACED AT AUSTRIA'S DISPOSAL AND  
LATER CAPTURED BY THE ITALIANS

result that there was an explosion which practically blew the submarine in two. The Italians immediately investigated the wreck by means of divers, finding the bodies of fourteen of the crew. The wreck then was duly raised, and notwithstanding that much of the submarine had to be rebuilt, the vessel was reconstructed and fitted for service with the Italian Navy.

The Italian naval engineers were also successful in salvaging another Austrian submarine, the *U-12*, and this also was placed in commission. This craft apparently was one of the large German-built, ocean-going submarines which were ordered for the Austrian Government and due for delivery in 1915. The activity of the submarines has been the striking feature of the Austrian naval operations in the Mediterranean, and whatever success the Teutons have achieved in maintaining the "blockade" has been due to their efforts. The Italian document referred to is of unusual interest to naval engineers as it confirms much of the previous suspicions regarding the construction and method of operation of these German craft and the method of their transfer from Germany to the Mediterranean.



MAP SHOWING THE PRESENT STATUS OF INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL IN THE UNITED STATES

- X** An I. R. amendment was adopted by the voters of Idaho in 1912, but was not self-executing.
- \*** New Mexico and Maryland have the Statewide Referendum only.
- (X)** Kansas and Louisiana have the Statewide Recall only.
- #** Many Texas cities have adopted the I. R. or R. under the Home Rule.
- 22 States having constitutional provisions for the Statewide I. R. or R. and provisions for the municipal I. R. or R. in Constitution or general laws or in both.
- ▨** 15 States having general laws for the municipal I. R. or R.
- ▨▨** 7 States having only special laws for the municipal I. R. or R.
- 4 States having no laws or constitutional provisions whatever for the I. R. or R.

## WHAT ABOUT THE INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL?

IN 1911 President Wilson (then Governor of New Jersey) said at Kansas City:

If we felt that we had genuine representative government in our State legislatures, no one would propose the initiative and referendum in America. They are being proposed now as a means of bringing our representatives back to the consciousness that what they are bound in duty, and in mere policy to do is to represent the sovereign people whom they profess to serve, and not the private interests which creep into their councils by way of machine orders and committee conferences. It must be remembered by every candid man who discusses these matters that we are contrasting the operation of the initiative and referendum, not with the representative government which we have in theory, but with the actual state of affairs.

Since that address was made constitutional and legislative changes in many States have materially advanced these reforms. Efforts

are now under way to embody them in other State Constitutions and also to improve provisions already enacted which have been shown to be defective.

In the magazine *Equity*, of Philadelphia, Mr. Edwin S. Potter states that in ten States steps have been taken toward the holding of constitutional conventions. That of Massachusetts is now in session, and many of the delegates to the convention have been committed to a provision for the Initiative and Referendum.

A similar movement is assuming great strength in Indiana, where a constitutional convention has been called to meet next January. These "tools of democracy" are favored by large and effective organizations in North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, New Hampshire, in all of which constitutional conventions are now on foot.

# WAR CHANGES IN THE MAP OF EUROPE

**I**N the July number of the *Metropolitan Magazine* (New York), ex-President Roosevelt outlines certain of the changes in national boundaries which he believes must be made at the conclusion of peace in the interest of justice and freedom. The principle underlying the peace he defines as "the right of each people to govern itself and to control its own destinies in so far as such control does not conflict with the just rights of others."

In some regions Colonel Roosevelt finds that the geographical or military, the political and the racial, linguistic, or religious lines of division coincide, so that it is easy to mark the limits which should rightly obtain between separate self-governing peoples. In other regions these lines criss-cross in such intricate fashion that it is difficult and in some cases impossible to provide remedies for the wrongs of the past without in the present causing fresh wrongs. Thus, there are places where Italians are intermingled with Slavs, or Catholic Croats with orthodox Serbs, or Poles with Germans in such a way that no possible settlement can be satisfactory to everybody. All that can be done, then, according to Colonel Roosevelt, is to keep before our eyes as the ideal the principle of securing to the various peoples the right of self-government conditional upon their exercising that right with justice to others and in such manner as to entitle them to a place on a footing of equality in the commonwealth of nations without regard to their size or strength, but with full regard to their conduct. "Self-control is a necessity in order justly to avoid imposed control."

Colonel Roosevelt has in mind the following territorial changes:

(1) Belgium must be restored and amply indemnified.

(2) Luxembourg should be joined to France or Belgium.

(3) France must have back Alsace and Lorraine, but as there is a natural mountainous military frontier in eastern Alsace, France might consider whether it would be well to make this her boundary line if the Alsatians show their desire to remain with Germany. But Colonel Roosevelt thinks that France herself should decide this matter.

(4) Italy should have Italia Irredenta, including Trieste, bordering with Switzerland and Germany in the north, but with full provision for Austria's commercial access to the Mediterranean.

(5) The Czech and his close kinsmen outside of Bohemia should form a new commonwealth.

(6) The Southern Slavs should be made into a greater Serbia.

(7) Effort must be made to leave the mass of the Magyars together and the mass of the Rumans together as independent nations.

(8) A democratic Russia should be entitled to and would not abuse the possession of Constantinople. A democratic Russia could safely be trusted to stand as the sponsor of an autonomous Finland, an autonomous Poland and an autonomous Armenia.

(9) Lithuania should also have her just claims considered.

(10) The Danes of North Schleswig should be given the right to vote whether or not they wish again to become part of Denmark.

(11) Ireland must remain part of the British Empire, but surely the time has come to give her Home Rule within the Empire, on a basis of resolute justice.

England and Japan must keep the colonies they have conquered.

It will be noted that Colonel Roosevelt's plan would leave Germany and German Austria substantially with their German population "as free as their neighbors and treated as the equals of their neighbors." Colonel Roosevelt expresses the hope that when the peace negotiations come the United States will earnestly strive for such a result. While he feels that it is imperative to strike hard at the "tyrannous militarism of Prussianized Germany" and to provide against its menace to peace and international right, Colonel Roosevelt wishes to see the German people revive the Germany of a century ago and become again a "leader among nations which are freed from all necessity of regarding it with horror and hatred and dread."

While maintaining that we wish nothing for ourselves in either territory or indemnity, Colonel Roosevelt holds that we should insist on a formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine, for he believes that this would "mark a long stride forward in international peace and fair dealing."

In its essence the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that hereafter there is to be no territorial aggrandizement by European powers on American soil at the expense of American nations. South of the equator there are growing civilized states capable of enforcing this doctrine themselves, and there we should join in enforcing it only at their request. But north of the equator our interests are such that we must be the guarantor. This should be specifically acknowledged in the treaty of peace.

## RUSSIA'S GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

**F**EW men not of Russian birth are better qualified to speak with authority of Russian affairs than Dr. E. J. Dillon, who was a student at the University of St. Petersburg in 1881 when the Czar Alexander II was assassinated, later became a university professor, and has always been in constant and intimate touch both with court circles and with the men who in a day overthrew the Czardom. Whatever he has to say, therefore, on the recent revolution is worthy of the closest attention, and we welcome an article from his pen in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review*.

Dr. Dillon sees in the Russian revolution something far deeper than and different from a noble people's resolve to get rid of a pro-German court clique in order to carry on the war with the whole strength of the nation:

It is my personal conviction that the motive that supplied the Russian upheaval with its driving power emanated from a less altruistic source than a desire to end the war by a decisive victory. A glance at the chronological order of events will make it clear that, however much the conduct of the campaign may be benefited by the overthrow of the old government, it was not primarily for the purpose of defeating the Teuton that it was overthrown. Marshalled and concentrated before hostilities broke out, the revolutionary forces were even then deemed potent enough to uproot the social and political system, lock, stock, and barrel, and the signal for releasing them was about to be given when the Kaiser's antics drew them off to the field of battle.

The war, in fact, was not the cause of, but actually retarded the revolution, to which it was given precedence. The recent political stroke is the outcome of many forces which have been operative, at first intermittently, and then steadily, since the days of Alexander I; to ascribe it to the blunders or the misdeeds of Nicholas II is to confound the occasion with the cause, the victims with the actors. Nicholas, by his weakness and instability, doubtless hastened his downfall, but Dr. Dillon has no doubt that it was inevitable. The writer gives a character sketch of the late Czar which throws a flood of light on his tragedy:

Nicholas II, a man of great personal charm, considerable intelligence, and retentive memory, followed in the footsteps of his father as a dwarf might follow a giant who was fording a river and up to the shoulders in water. His main qualifications for the throne were personal graces, ornamental accomplishments, and vaguely good intentions. But he was deficient in will-power, wholly devoid of a sense of the fitness of things, and incapable of fully grasping the law of caus-

ality. Hence he floundered about in a bog of incongruities, undoing to-day what he had half done yesterday. Of his father one knew exactly what to expect and how he would behave in a given set of circumstances. Not so with Nicholas II, whose language, ever refined, was no trustworthy index to his thought. He seldom trusted any public man, and he constantly mistrusted himself. Courage failed him to tell a Minister that his services were no longer required, yet he was quite capable of drawing up a tremendous indictment against him once out of sight.

And over against these defects there were few set-offs. Of qualifications for leadership Nicholas II showed no trace. He was neither bold, resourceful, suasive, nor even plausible. No act of his own could fairly be termed statesmanlike. His opinions were often at variance with the grounds alleged in support of them, and his methods were sometimes obviously calculated to defeat their avowed objects. Most men have enough common sense to hearken to reason when it would be folly to do otherwise, but Nicholas II was an exception. In discharging his public functions expedites usurped the place of a policy and means were confounded with ends.

The question now is, what use will Russia make of her new-found liberty? Dr. Dillon is frankly doubtful. The provisional government is embarked on a struggle against the uncompromising Socialists, of whom there are very many among the workmen and in the army. Russia's greatest danger comes from a lack of moderating influences.

In another article in the same number Mr. E. H. Wilcox, who also writes with personal knowledge of Russia, expresses the view that on the whole Russia's will to win will be strengthened rather than weakened by the overthrow of the old régime; but he adds the salutary warning that will does not necessarily co-ordinate power, and says that the late government left things in such an appalling state of muddle that it will need all the wisdom and energy of the provisional government to restore the situation:

Food and fuel are to-day the two urgent needs on which Russia's power to continue the war indefinitely mainly depends. Under the old government these two needs went steadily from bad to worse till disaster seemed imminent. The new government has taken over a task of supreme difficulty, but in spite of the temporary hitches inherent in every transfer of authority, there are good reasons to suppose that it will deal with the emergency more vigorously and more efficiently than the men whom it has displaced. Things had in any case come to such a pass in Russia that a radical change of system seemed to be the only possible remedy.

# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY

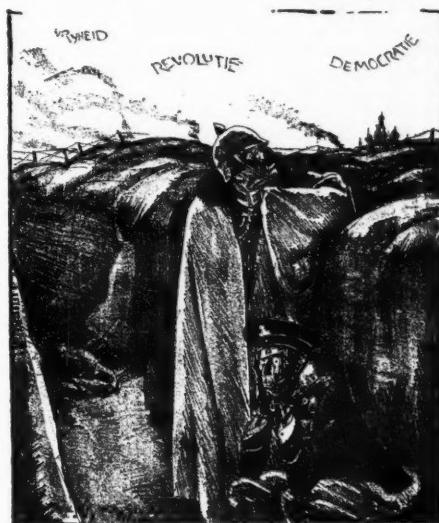
**I**N an article contributed to the *Revue de Paris*, Auguste Gauvain makes a thoughtful survey of the antecedents and the prospective significance of the Russian revolution, and its connection with our own country's entry into the great war:

The war launched in 1914 will effect as profound changes in the political transformation of the world as did the French Revolution of 1789. But it will act in an inverse sense. The outcome of a humanitarian ideal, the great movement towards the conquest of the rights of man at the close of the 18th century struck the rock of Imperialism, foundering finally in the Holy Alliance. The conflagration of to-day, kindled by Imperialist greed, will be extinguished by torrents of blood shed in the cause of humanity. The scheme of universal domination conceived by William II will culminate in the triumph of the independence of nations. Autocratic rule, which the originators of the conflict intended to strengthen among their own people and to spread around them, will disappear and leave the field clear for democracy. Up to the beginning of this year one might have doubted it, because forces little understood clashed against each other in disturbed regions. Since the Russian revolution and American intervention, the doubt is dispelled.

Turning to the relations between Russia and Germany, M. Gauvain thus characterizes the policy of the Kaiser and his predecessors:

From the time of their common war against Napoleonic France up to the Congress of Berlin, Germany and Russia leaned upon each other. Prussian absolutism and autocratic czardom supported each other mutually, fraternally. Up to the day when William II, infatuated with himself and trusting solely to his own genius, dismissed Bismarck, in order to govern according to the principle "Germany, it is I," it was a tenet of the Prussian kings not to clash with Russia under any circumstances. Even after the treachery of William I in 1878, that principle was respected. Bismarck felt himself able to maintain at the same time the new alliance with Austria-Hungary and the age-long friendship with Russia. He counted upon having time enough to prove to the Czar that he had done him no wrong in removing him from Constantinople and that the future of the Muscovite Empire really lay in Asia. As has happened to many another great man, he lacked the time. However, in that particular field of ideas, William II remained his disciple.

In his own way, which was as wavering as Bismarck's was consistent, the Kaiser lost no opportunity to induce the Czar to turn towards Asia. Only, unlike the Chancellor, he knew not how to choose the proper occasions. He believed he had succeeded in 1904 by launching the bureaucracy and the "fire-eaters" against Japan. But in the



LIGHT FROM RUSSIA

WILHELM (to little Wilhelm): "That light, my son, will do our house more harm than all the Russian artillery!"

From *De Nieuwe Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

end the test turned against him. If Russia emerged impoverished and diminished after two years of exhausting warfare in the Far East, her military reverses aroused the revolutionary movement which has just culminated, after numerous vicissitudes in the overthrow of Czardom, in March, 1917.

That the Russian revolution of 1905 is not to be ascribed solely to the Japanese war, M. Gauvain, of course, fully recognizes; it was the outcome of a deep-seated and long-continued struggle, in which the forces of middle-class liberalism, as well as those of the rural and urban proletariat, were arrayed against the crushing weight of Czardom and bureaucracy. But it was the Japanese war that brought on the great explosion of 1905; and from that time on, up to the outbreak of the present war, Russia was cleft by profound dissensions. But on the outbreak of the war division ceased.

The developments leading to the revolution which deposed the Czar are familiar to all Americans; of its prospective influence on the course of the war, M. Gauvain takes a favorable view:

As was inevitable after such an upheaval, a certain confusion prevails in the minds of the

people and in the administration. The false brothers at home and the foes abroad will take advantage of it by trying to ruin, with a view to their own special benefit, the fruitful work which is in progress. There are many risks. Nothing great is achieved without risks, and the Russian revolution is a very great thing. It resounds from one end of the world to the other. The question that arises for us, in the midst of war, is to ascertain whether it will retard or accelerate our victory. It will accelerate it. The worst that can be said on that subject is that it will permit proposals of conciliation which it was forbidden to contemplate under Nicholas II.

One must look beyond the daily events and into the heart of things. If it be true that the maintenance of the Czar's power, operating normally, would have been preferable for the proper conduct of military operations to the close of the war, it is still more true that the maintenance of the authority of Nicholas II, as it was exercised, formed the gravest danger for his allies. They, in spite of their uneasiness, took good care not to provoke a change involving incalculable consequences. But the event once accomplished, with a minimum of disorders and bloodshed, they have reason to rejoice.

In conclusion, M. Gauvain comments upon the relation between Russia's revolution and the espousal by our country of the cause of the Allies:

The part played by moral forces appears here in its plenitude. It has often been ridiculed by politicians who maintained that with shrewdness and *savoir-faire* one can accomplish anything. Shrewdness and *savoir-faire* are two valuable qualities, when the first does not degenerate into artifice, and the second into sharp practise. But

they are only instruments. To practise politics worthy of the name there must be a basic substance. Some prefer to depend upon material, others upon moral power. The latter, unfortunately, does not suffice; the wars waged by Prussia since 1864 have adequately proved that. But neither does the first suffice; that is proved by the war of to-day.

In the long run the moral forces get the upper hand. They have an imperishable vitality. Austria-Germany will eventually succumb under the general reprobation. One by one the neutral states are uniting against her. It might have been said of the first ones that declared themselves that they sought special advantages. That cannot be said of the United States nor of the other American republics. The great Republic of North America throws a tremendous weight into the scale without claiming anything for herself. She fights for ideas which she considers the motive forces of the whole civilized world. She made a public decision two weeks after the Russian revolution. She had probably decided before, but the events at Petrograd gave President Wilson a chance to rouse the people *en masse*, and transform an intervention which might have been doled out in dribs and drabs into an enthusiastic enterprise launched full tilt.

True to his doctrines, Mr. Wilson has constituted himself the champion of democracy and of the right of nations to act for themselves. He is fortunate in being finally able to make his deeds accord with his words. Without looking backward, he is advancing to-day towards the realization of his political ideal with an energy as great as the prudence he exercised before in treading the path of negotiation. The Russian revolution has dispelled his last scruples. It has liberated his conscience. And that is not the least of the benefits it has accomplished.

## "THE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION"

**W**HEN those tombs of the living, the prisons of Siberia, gave up their victims, at the sound of the trumpets of the Revolution, no more striking figure issued from their grim portals than that of Catherine Brechkovskaya, the "Grandmother of the Revolution." A sympathetic sketch of this remarkable woman, who was, like Tolstoi, enamored of justice, righteousness, and freedom, is contributed to the May number of *La Revue* (Paris) by Vera Starkoff. From this article we take the following excerpts:

There is a corner of the earth where Liberty has arisen crowned with an aurora of clemency. The penalty of death is abolished. Jailers have comprehended the vanity of chastisements. Bolts are being drawn. Catherine Brechkovskaya is carried in triumph. There is something greater than genius, and that is individual character.

In a dungeon of distant Siberia this woman of seventy braved the escort of gendarmes foisted upon her by an all powerful enemy. The Russian Government held her under lock and key, and to be the surer that she did not escape ordered that every day she should be placed in her sealed cell.

The writer tells us that she has a manner of distinction and betrays the noble origin which she had repudiated at the age of twenty-six, in order to obey the call of her indignant and revolted pity. Her husband belonged to the Liberal party, which had inspired the imperial manifesto of Alexander II liberating the serfs. Unfortunately the new-found freedom was accompanied by bitter poverty, accentuated by taxation.

She felt she owed a debt to the *moujik* whom her own class had systematically despoiled and

cynically befooled by selling a semblance of liberty the better to enslave them. Remorse commanded her to go to the aid of the victims. And since her husband did not share this view she left him, sacrificing even her maternal love to what she believed to be her first duty. She renounced all her privileges, and, clad like a peasant, she went from village to village, living the rude life of the moujiks, teaching them to read and write and enlightening them to their true interests.

The reward for this self-sacrifice was her arrest and deportation to Siberia in 1878. Here her ardor was undiminished. It is said she fed hundreds of poor wretches with the products of the garden she cultivated herself. She advised the cultivation of vegetables to make the convicts self-supporting and the idea met with great success. She interested her correspondents in the miserable poverty of the deported convicts and it was to her efforts that the formation of relief committees was due. She was particularly devoted to the children.

She believed with Tolstoi that the first duty of man was the struggle with nature to preserve his own life and that of others. She bore this hard Siberian life for twenty-two years with marvelous energy. Finally the heaped up horrors under which the exiles suffered, cold, hunger, and the dreadful malady known as "hunger typhus," impelled her to seek escape in order to make known to the civilized world the monstrous afflictions carefully concealed by the Russian Government. In particular there was lack of medical attention, even of sanitary measures. The sick lay side by side with the dead in the same barracks, known as the "pest house." Hoping that universal pity would end this barbarism she endeavored to flee that she might make it known.

During her long career of a spiritual valor bordering on the miraculous she made two attempts at escape. The first was in 1880. She fled with five comrades in exile. They traversed virgin forests and the immense "taiga," where one sinks to his knees in mud. One night wolves made a circle around them. . . . Fired doubtless by the imperious desire to save her comrades she lit a bon-fire suddenly. The wolves fled, but the gendarmes who were prowling in the neighborhood recovered their prey. . . . She was condemned to suffer forty strokes of the knout. But at that time the government had scruples against flogging a woman—a gallantry it lost a few years later. A pretense of heart-disease was made in order to spare her. She protested. She wished to accept nothing from her adversaries. She claimed the right to partake the penalty of her comrades. One of these died during the execution.



MADAME CATHERINE BRECHKOVSKAIA

After twenty-two years of exile, Madame Brechkovskaya was released and permitted to return to Russia, but she soon became active in the organization of the revolutionary Socialist party, made propagandist speeches in the villages, was arrested anew at Simbissk and taken to Petrograd to be immured in the fortress of Peter and Paul.

When the police tried to make her talk she invariably responded: "While I was at liberty I did my work without you; now you have only to do your duty without me." Her loyalty impressed even her jailers. When her profession was inquired at the trial she replied that she was a revolutionary propagandist. She refused an advocate, saying: "What is the use? I have not changed and neither has justice." . . . In 1907 she knew for the third time deportation and a Siberian jail. The cruelty of the penitentiary régime had attained an excess heretofore unknown. "Receptions" were organized for the "newcomers." An oath of fidelity to the orthodox church and repudiation of the socialist faith was demanded. When the "criminal" proved recalcitrant . . . he was tortured. . . .

Again this noble woman took up the work of comforting and relieving the sufferings of the bodies and souls of the victims of exile. She became the "Grandmother of the Revolution," and even had the energy in 1913 to attempt escape at the age of seventy. She was recaptured and the government determined to send her into the polar desert at Nijnekolymsk, more horrible, it is said, than Dostoevsky's "House of the Dead." But it was such political harshness that undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of Czarism.

## ASPHYXIATING GAS IN THE TRENCHES



Photographs by Jacques Boyer, Paris.

BELL USED FOR SIGNALLING THE ARRIVAL OF ASPHYXIATING GASES OVER THE FIRST-LINE TRENCHES OF THE FRENCH

EVER since April 22, 1915, the Germans have used against the military forces of the Allies in violation of all international law various asphyxiating or noxious gases. The most formidable of the gases so employed by the Germans is chlorine, but bromine is also used as are formaldehyde, nitrous vapors, sulphurous anhydride, nitrogen peroxide, and carbon monoxide. These gases are produced by means of fires in front of the German trenches in which is burnt either sulphur for producing sulphurous anhydride or trioxymethylene, a solid body which volatilizes on heating, releasing the gas formaldehyde. The method most employed by the Germans, however, is to send forth dense clouds of chlorine from steel reservoirs containing the liquefied gas. These cylinders are connected to a vertical metal pipe about six feet in height with an elbow carrying a horizontal jet turned toward the

enemy and projecting slightly above the level of the surrounding ground. At the preparatory signal the soldiers in the trench engaged in this special service put on respiratory masks, and an operator at each jet turns a regulating cock permitting the chlorine to escape from the nozzle in a cloud into the atmosphere.

As chlorine gas is two and a half times heavier than air, it not only advances but spreads over the surrounding terrain, and after sinking it remains in contact with the ground. Compressed bromine is also contained along with the chlorine in the cylinders, as both combine in all proportions, the bromine having a very disagreeable odor and in ordinary atmosphere a dense brownish-red vapor.

With satisfactory atmospheric conditions, the asphyxiating gases can exert their injurious effects up to about a mile and a quarter from their source, and on the western battle front the odor of the gases has been detected slightly over three miles behind the first lines. If atmosphere containing a proportion of 1/1000 of chlorine gas is inhaled by the soldiers not equipped with protective apparatus, the effects of the fumes are likely to be deadly. The men who breathe even a very small amount of the concentrated gas experience at first an intense prickling in the nasal passages and also in the throat and shed tears as their eyelids swell. They are racked by an incessant cough and there is an abundant expectoration, which usually is accompanied by considerable loss of blood. Most of those affected who do not succumb at once to the gases recover after ten days' treatment in the hospital, but when the poisoning is more intense there may result bronchial-pneumonia, pneumonia, and sometimes pulmonary gangrenes sufficient to cause death.

The French have, however, reduced to a minimum the injurious effects of the gases. At frequent intervals along the first-line trenches they have placed sirens, whose sound carries for well over a mile. As soon as a suspected cloud rises from the German trenches, the alarm is given and the French *poilus* immediately don their respiratory masks and spectacles of mica or glass enclosed in rubber. Bombardiers, who are

equipped with a protective breathing apparatus, then throw in the advancing path of the noxious vapors small grenades charged with black powder, whose explosions serve both to dissipate the cloud by breaking its continuity and to release potassium sulphide, which reacts on the chlorine or bromine chemically and serves to diminish injurious effects.

At the first gas attacks the British Army devised crude masks of cotton and gauze held over the nose and mouth by two strings, and these were supplied by generous friends in five days to the almost incredible amount of a half million, after which various other devices much more adequate and more effective were developed for all the allied armies. One of these considerably used consists of an impermeable veil having a transparent window through which the soldier could see and an opening for breathing covered with a pad of very thick muslin. When the asphyxiating cloud was seen approaching, the soldier would put on this strange headpiece after pouring upon a cushion of dry muslin at the mouthpiece an anti-asphyxiating solution of ammonia or hyposulphite of soda, contained in a tin tube always with him. The mask is held by an elastic and fastened to the coat collar. Only respirable air can pass through the cushion, as the chlorine and bromine gases are intercepted and retained by the solution. The pad of muslin must be changed after using, but it can be employed again after it has been regenerated by washing in boiling water and kept a long time in a large quantity of cold water. This process has been systematized.

The most practical type of gas hood, which resembles somewhat the respiratory mask just described, is a sort of sack with a horizontal slit at the level of the eyes and which is put on over the cap or steel helmet. The open part of the hood falls to the shoulders and can be made tight around the neck by buttoning the jacket or coat.



A GERMAN MASK

Before it is used this mask is dipped into a solution of hyposulphite of soda to which has been added carbonate of soda and a little glycerine to prevent the material drying. These hoods hinder neither moving or breathing, and the various reactions take place over the entire surface. They are usually carried rolled like a turban around the cap or helmet until needed, and have proved an effective device against the irrespirable vapors sent across from the German lines.

A writer referring, in a recent issue of *Chambers' Journal*, to the use of liquid fire and asphyxiating gas by the Germans speaks of the various methods that were used to offset the dangers of the poisonous gases employed by the Germans. According to this authority, the present helmet, as used by the British army, is a perfect defense against gas.

Wearing it, a man may walk about in the thickest gas-cloud unharmed (I have done so), though the formaldehyde generated inside the helmet does cause rather an unpleasant feeling in the throat. This is quite harmless, but it has caused many a man to imagine he was gassed when really he ailed nothing. I could tell a few laughable stories to illustrate this.

The men being in possession of helmets which protect them from the physical effects of a gas-cloud, it is necessary to instil in them confidence in their helmets, in order to rob the gas-cloud of its moral effect. For this purpose anti-gas schools were started—divisional ones, to which relays of men were and are sent from the various battalions in the division; and army-schools for the training of non-commissioned officers. In these schools lectures dealing with anti-gas methods are given each day in the morning session. In the afternoon the men (wearing their gas-helmets) are placed in a specially built room in which are fixed a number of gas-cylinders. The gas is turned on; the room is filled with a thick fog. So the men learn that a helmet gives them adequate protection; and after that, for them a gas-cloud has no terrors. The men have confidence in their masks, and consequently there is no fear of their morale being shaken by such an attack.

The admirable training of the troops in anti-gas methods has minimized the effect.



THE LATER FRENCH MODEL OF MASK FOR PROTECTION AGAINST ASPHYXIATING GASES

## DON JOSÉ ECHEGARAY, ENGINEER, STATESMAN AND DRAMATIST

THE death of Echegaray on the 14th of last September at the ripe age of eighty-three, closed the career of a man with the unique record of distinction as a statesman, as a man of letters, and as an authority on mathematical physics. Born in Madrid on April 4, 1833, he was barely twenty-five when he was called to the chair of mathematics in the School of Roads and Bridges of that city, and despite his manifold and successful activities in other lines he found time to write various technical works, including "Problems of Analytic Geometry," "Treatise on Physics and the Unity of Material Forces," and "Modern Theories in Physics." He remained, moreover, professor of mathematical physics in the Central University of Madrid until the time of his death.

His bias towards politics manifested itself very early and he was elected to the Cortes in 1869. Here he had opportunity to display his talents both as a statesman and as a brilliant orator. His speech in favor of religious freedom was instrumental in procuring for him the portfolio of Public Works and Commerce in the cabinet. Under Amadeus of Savoy he was made Minister of Public Works and of Finance in 1872, but was obliged to abandon this post when the Republic was proclaimed in April, 1873, and retired to Paris. He was very promptly recalled, however, following the coup d'état which restored the Bourbons to power and again became Minister of Finance. He profited by this position to confer upon the Bank of Spain a monopoly in the issue of banknotes. It was at about this time that he renounced politics and began to seek expression as a dramaturge, although he held office again for a short while in 1903.

It was as a dramatist that he gained his greatest fame both at home and in foreign lands. He was made a member of the Royal Spanish Academy in 1882, and in 1905 he gained the coveted Nobel prize for literature. On this occasion Alfonso XIII dubbed him a chevalier of the Fleece of

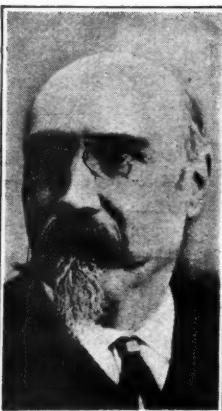
Gold, and there was a great public demonstration in his honor at Madrid.

Despite the immense popularity of certain of his dramas and melodramas, critics of dramatic literature found much in them of which to complain. His first work, published under the pseudonym of Jorge Hayeseca, was found to be violent, exaggeratedly passionate, and even incoherent, and "The Wife of the Avenger," appearing the same year, 1874, had only a *succès d'estime* despite the beauty of its verse and its force of character and action.

It was with the huge romantic melodrama "With Sword in Hand" that he first made complete conquest of the general public, rousing everywhere what one disgruntled critic termed "an unworthy enthusiasm." Miguel de Toro Gisbert, writing in *Larousse Mensuel* (Paris), says of this work:

One finds puerile things in it, indeed, but also scenes worthy the pen of a master. The verses of Echegaray, sonorous, proud, full of images, recalling at every step those of Calderon, seem now ridiculous and now sublime. They are beautiful or absurd, according to the particular critic. One of these characterizes the work as exhibiting an "exalted idealism in the midst of the scenes thrown on the wall by a magic lantern." The same disputes took place over nearly all his works: "Madness or Holiness" (1877), "The Impossible Vow" (1877), "In the Bosom of Death" (1879), "The Shoreless Sea" (1879).

The plays best known outside Spain are "Marianne," a very enthralling study of a modern, high-strung, intellectual woman of advanced ideas—a type said to be practically unknown in Spain, by the way; "The Son of Don Juan," a powerful but depressing study of the consequences of the sins of the fathers, directly inspired by Ibsen's "Ghosts," and "El Gran Galeoto," which was produced in New York a few years ago by Mr. William Faversham under the title "The World and His Wife." This is a powerful and tragic study in psychology and is the author's most famous play, having been translated into seven languages. It has been



DON JOSÉ ECHEGARAY

called worthy of Shakespeare by some authorities and termed a "minstre-drama" by others. It is the story of a young man and a young woman united in a friendship as innocent as delightful who are the victims of unjustified suspicions by their friends and neighbors, "the world and his wife," which finally drive them into a culpable amour. Of this De Toro Gisbert says:

Other critics have observed with justice that the thesis of the drama is false, that the characters are barely sketched in, and move like automaton, and that the author has treated his subject like an algebraic formula—a fault natural enough, by the way, in a mathematician.

Echegaray was exceedingly prolific, sometimes turning out no less than three plays a year. He also translated into excellent Spanish three dramas of the great Catalanian writer Angel Guimera: "Marie Rose," "Sea and Sky," and "Lowlands." Gisbert says

in the concluding paragraphs of his article:

Despite a certain tendency to naturalism in "How It Begins and How It Ends," particularly, there are scenes which are crudely naturalistic—the theater of Echegaray is strictly romantic, and closely resembles that of Victor Hugo, and above all of Calderon, and it is perhaps herein that we may find the secret of his prodigious success. The great critic Clarin likens the enthusiasm of the Spanish for heroic drama to their passion for bull-fighting, and Yxart remarks that there is nothing more profoundly national throughout the peninsula.

Echegaray will remain in the history of Spanish letters as the gifted continuer in an epoch of transition—even of decadence, perhaps—of the great tradition of the golden age of the nation. And if a part of his productions, too ornate, like that of all the great Spanish dramaturges, falls into a just oblivion, it must be recognized that every time such pieces as "El Gran Galeoto," "Madness or Holiness," and "With Sword in Hand" are revived, the Spanish public, the same throughout the centuries, is taken captive by these verses, so beautiful, though frequently a trifle hollow.

## THEODULE RIBOT, THE FAMOUS PSYCHOPATHOLOGIST

**I**T is a curious fact that while the names of French artists are better known in this country than those of their German contemporaries, the case is quite reversed when we come to men of science. This is probably not due so much to any inherent superiority as a class on the one hand or the other, as to the circumstance that it is a tradition with our young art students to seek the Latin Quarter so famed in romance and in song, in opera and in short story, while our young men wishing to pursue science have, especially of late years, turned in widening streams to the hospitable doors of Teutonic universities.

These may be the underlying reasons why the name of the eminent French psychopathologist, Theodule Ribot, who is but recently dead at an advanced age, is comparatively unfamiliar to America, while that of Freud, with his sensational theories as to psychoanalysis and his frequently fantastic applications thereof, is on every tongue.

Born in Brittany in 1839, Ribot was educated at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* and at an early age evinced the able mind which brought him such wide recognition throughout Europe and so many honors in his native land, where he was Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and Member of the Institute, be-

sides belonging to various learned bodies and being for many years professor at the Sorbonne and the *Collège de France*.

As early as 1889 the character of the Professor of Philosophy, in Paul Bourget's famous novel, "The Disciple," was supposed to be modeled partly from Ribot and partly from Taine, though at that time the work of the former had been chiefly critical, as in the early books, "English Psychology" and "German Psychology." The nature and importance of his own contributions to the new science of experimental psychology, based on physiological experiment, which was beginning to take the place of metaphysics, is well set forth in a brief but admirable sketch in *La Revue* (Paris), from which the following passages are taken:

Despite appearances this declared adversary of all speculation exercised an influence no less profound in the paths of learning from which he turned aside than in those whereon he entered, so that the philosophers, in truth, are no less indebted to him than are the experimenters and the clinicians pursuing the study in hospitals and asylums of that psychopathology of which he was the initiator.

Ribot was still a provincial professor when he undertook to make known in France the work of English and German psychologists. In these two books he showed himself to be a scrupulously careful historian and an exact critic. He mere-

ly profited by the opportunity, in his prefaces, to define and complete the criticism of introspection which had been outlined by Auguste Comte. He demonstrated the necessity of substituting for an entirely individual, subjective, and descriptive psychology, an objective, general, and explanatory psychology, which should be not merely that of "man, adult, white, and civilized," but should comprise that of the infant, of the animal, of all mankind. Generations of students have learned by heart these formulas now so popular, but then so new and bold. Few novelists have drawn such handsome royalties as this luminous and vivid living psychologist.

Already, under the influence of that type of mind which can perceive only the mechanical aspect of things and of beings, the German psychologists, intoxicated with precision, were stumbling amid the chimeras of psycho-physics. This is why Ribot remained more sensitive to the vivifying influence of the English . . . and why his first researches were in the direction indicated by Herbert Spencer and by Alexander Bain. Ribot, as his first offering to contemporary work, brought across the English Channel the psychophysiological method, and himself undertook the most brilliant application of it.

It was with his celebrated theory of attention that Ribot first made this method triumph. Attention had, in fact, always been regarded from within by means of consciousness; it remained incomprehensible and inexplicable; it was regarded only as a sort of "pure act" of mind, of mysterious origin.

Under Ribot's method of studying the function of attention, on the contrary, it gained both in simplicity and in interest. He regarded it from without, *i.e.*, in the somatic manifestations which accompany it. Thus regarded it was easy to see that it operates by what may be termed the mechanism of motion, *i.e.*, that it acts always by means of muscles and upon muscles, principally in the form of an arrest of motion. In Ribot's own lucid and brilliant exposition:

Compare an audience which is bored with an audience that is held captive, an eager student with a dunce, an animal lying in wait for its prey with an animal at play. The corporal attitude of attention is not the same as that of distraction. In the ordinary state, in fact, the senses, open to the world, continue to provide every passing sensation, and these sensations, in their turn, multiply images and memories, stirring the memory as a stone stirs deep waters. The consciousness is like a cinematograph, a perpetual fluttering of butterflies, a wheel incessantly turning.

In the state of attention, on the contrary, the senses are shut, the memory closed, the mind fixed; the cinematograph is stopped, the wheel no longer turns, the butterflies are at rest. We have attained a state of "mono-ideism." The whole attitude of the attentive person is the *ensemble* of these arrested movements, of muscular inhibition. It denotes a state of convergence of the organism and of concentration of labor, for the concentration of the consciousness and

that of the movements, the diffusion of ideas and that of the movements are on a par.

Ribot classed these physical concomitants of attention in three groups: as vaso-motor, respiratory, and motor or expressive phenomena. In its genesis he made a distinction between spontaneous and voluntary attention. The former, dependent upon affective conditions, desire, satisfaction, discontent, jealousy, etc., is the only form found in the animal and the infant. Voluntary attention, on the other hand, is obtained artificially, by the association of a natural desire with a not immediately related object; thus the child, before loving work for its own sake, works to be rewarded.

The author of the present sketch, Gaston Rageot, observes that here we have psychology plunging into life, and continues:

Thus, in this same work, whose reception was marvelous, there appears the very principle of Ribot's thought, of his curiosity, of his influence. It is life, integral, complete, perceived in the *ensemble* of its conditions, soul and body, within and without, tendency and movement, emotion and act, heart and face; observed, too, in all the phases of its development, in the infant, in the animal, in the invalid, from its mysterious dawn to its more mysterious decline—it is life that was the sole passion of this *savant*.

And it seemed as if he bore the attractive symbol of it in his own person. Every one has seen him, walking along the Rue des Ecoles, arriving at the Collège de France, or, going every day to get his daily mail at the *Librairie Alcan* and receive the visitors of the *Revue Philosophique*. Little, lean, active, with a lively eye, a smile of great subtlety he was goodness of heart itself, and intellectual grace. Nothing interested him so much as the company of his kind, and his primary psychological method was the practice of an exquisite sociability. He acquired the secret of hearts first by friendliness. Thus the almost universal authority of this little man was developed day by day throughout the whole of his beautiful and harmonious existence. . . . Thus he could grow old without fear of time or fashion.

The vital principle of this French pathologist's views may be expressed as the omnipresence of the motor element in the genesis and the mechanism of all psycho-physiologic phenomena. Rageot says:

His last book, just finished, is still faithful to the study of movements in the life of consciousness. To live is to desire, to desire is to act, and to act by means of muscles and upon muscles. Tendency and movement are thus the basis of our whole existence. . . .

For more than thirty-five years Ribot edited the *Revue Philosophique*, which he had founded. He was a voluminous author.

## ITALY AND ASIA MINOR

A NOTE of confidence in the ultimate success of the Allies' cause animates an article by Senator Leopoldo Franchetti in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). The writer, far from confining the Italy of the future within the narrow bounds of the Adriatic, gives forcible expression to her rights as a Mediterranean power in the widest sense. He does not regard as premature a free discussion of Italy's legitimate claims, especially as the ministries of some other powers of the Entente have displayed little hesitation in reference to the future status of territories not yet occupied.

He holds that in addition to the acquisition of the unredeemed Italian region held by Austria, and the establishment of Italy's predominance in the Adriatic, as well as the territorial enlargement of her possessions in eastern and northern Africa, Italy should be acceded Asia Minor, with the exception of a zone along the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, and along the Dardanelles, this falling properly to Russia. Italy's special title to the possession of Asia Minor is based, in Senator Franchetti's opinion, upon the vital importance to her of the Mediterranean.

The occupation, by the other civilized nations, of all the non-European coasts of the Mediterranean, and their respective hinterlands, with the exception of the unfruitful Tripoli, would exclude from these regions the Italian activities that have already manifested themselves there. Up to the beginning of the war Italian manufacturers, merchants, contractors, and laborers had contributed largely to the economic development of Asia Minor, within the limits imposed by the Turks. In the other Mediterranean regions, already occupied by other civilized nations, Italian activity has also been marked, but here the Italians are destined to be absorbed, sooner or later, by the dominant nationality.

The writer finds that what Italy imperatively needs is a free field for the expansion of her economic energies and, besides this, for the colonization of her emigrants, who would find in Asia Minor a region fully adapted to the unfolding of their natural aptitudes for the production of wealth—aptitudes that have so far been exploited with scant compensation by foreign nations.

It is necessary to insist upon the prime importance of the emigration factor for

Italy. So far the hundreds of thousands of Italians who have left their native land each year have not found any corner of the earth where they could live under the Italian flag; for the colonies now in Italy's possession have not proved themselves to be fitted for European immigrants. The attempt to stifle the expansion of Italy, to prevent her from developing outside the confines of the home country, as do the other civilized nations, the resources of her exuberant energies and of her increasing population, would be tantamount to condemning her to see these energies dissipated for the profit of other nations, or to have them exhaust themselves in internal class conflicts.

The writer notes that after the victory shall have been won, not only France, England, and Italy would be Mediterranean powers, but Russia also, because of her possession of the Dardanelles. Of course, this view is based upon the policy of the old régime, which seems to have been discarded by the new Russian government. Under these conditions, not only Russia and England, but France also would be Adriatic powers in the Near East, since France, as is understood, would receive Syria. Hence no one of these powers could occupy the Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor or a notable part of the interior without acquiring thereby an unacceptable preponderance over the others. Italy alone, since she has no other possessions in Asia, could hold Asia Minor without disturbing the equilibrium; indeed, this would rather serve to establish and maintain it. Italy will never be strong enough in the Mediterranean or in the Near East to acquire an undue predominance in these regions.

As to the native peoples of Asia Minor, the independence of their different nationalities is excluded by the actual state of things. The various races, the various nations, the various religions, are inextricably interwoven.

To ensure the well-being and prosperity of these peoples there is needed a power superior to them in civilization, which shall make justice reign among them and shall maintain the public peace. The unflinching fidelity with which the native troops of Erythrea fought for Italy against Menelik of Abyssinia shows that Italy possesses the art of gaining the affection and the confidence of her native subjects.

## AN ITALIAN'S ADVICE TO ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS

**N**O other foreign land is so vitally interested in the new restrictive law regarding emigration to the United States as is Italy, for the stream of Italian emigration has not only been an outlet for a surplus population that would not find profitable occupation at home, but has also provided a notable addition to the annual revenue of the country from the large sums remitted by the expatriated Italian workers. Hence it is recognized in Italy as most important to fore-stall as far as may be any check to the renewal of emigration after the war that might result from the new law.

This question is very impartially examined by Dr. G. B. Nicola in the *Rivista Internazionale*. The main grounds for the law against the admission of illiterates are acknowledged to be that the illiterate immigrant will be satisfied with low wages; that he is easily imposed upon and prone to seek revenge in crimes of violence, and that he is necessarily held aloof from the influences of the American educational system. Dr. Nicola finds that before protesting against this law and seeing in it a proof of hatred toward the Italians, it should be carefully weighed, and if its provisions are found reasonable it should be cordially accepted.

He rejects as a wholly childish expedient the proposal of certain Italian journals that the tide of emigration should be diverted to Asia Minor, as though the Italian laborers were tourists in search of pleasurable emotions, who could vary their journeys at will, and were not invincibly bound by a tissue of complex interests, of family relations and social requirements, not to be disturbed.

The strongest current of Italian emigration has set toward the United States. In the quinquennial period 1909-1913 the annual average was 278,000, representing 41 per cent. of the total number of Italians who went to foreign lands, and 68 per cent. of those who crossed the sea. In the year 1913 as many as 377,000 went to America.

The writer believes that the military service of Italians born after 1900 will hardly be needed in the war, and he finds that the proper education of this new generation, even apart from serving to overcome the obstacles to immigration interposed by the United States, would render those who remained in Italy more productive.

Naturally the education given to prospective emigrants should not stop at the ability to read thirty words, as demanded by the American law. It should embrace a minimum of knowledge regarding the State and national constitutions and the geographic divisions of the United States, as well as a familiarity with the standards of weight and measurement. Scarcely less essential would be an elementary knowledge of Italian conditions, so that when questioned as to these by an American, the Italian would be able to give intelligent answers.

In conclusion Dr. Nicola gives some useful hints to those of his fellow-countrymen who intend to establish themselves in the United States. They are urged to keep in mind the notable differences between the customs and ways of thinking of the two countries. Of this he says:

If, for example, two boys coming out of school begin to pummel each other and a friend of one of them runs up to help him, this will be looked upon as cowardly; the two boys ought to be left to fight it out with each other; but two against one, when all are of about the same strength, is not to be allowed, is not to be thought of for a moment, is almost inhuman in American eyes.

Another principle is the so-called eleventh commandment: "Mind your own business!" This is a national attitude foreign to the Latin temperament of to-day, a lively and expansive temperament, ready to give aid, but also sometimes, in spite of all good intentions, animated by an impudent curiosity that may give offense.

At first sight it might seem that this should be especially applicable to Englishmen and Germans and that the American is almost anarchical. But this is altogether untrue. Take your stand at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street, or at any other center of intense traffic, and remark how at a single sign of the policeman's "magic wand" hundreds of vehicles are instantly arrested in their course, and this without the slightest thought of remonstrance. We are accustomed to call America the land of liberty, meaning that kind of liberty that borders on license. This is all wrong. Liberty among equals is indeed perfect, but all must submit to authority. The President of the United States exercises an executive power more autocratic, one might almost say more absolute, than does the King of Italy with his ministers. Lastly, in America, with but few exceptions, all are religious. There is full freedom in the choice of this or that confession, but national custom and trend of thought require the profession of some religion, demand that some form of worship, however simple, shall be practised. The open conflict with the primary principles of the Christian religion, so frequent in Latin countries, is entirely inadmissible.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## RUSSIA—BEFORE AND AFTER



which had come from the press since the outbreak of the revolution in March. The list of new offerings has grown steadily and we now have a shelf-full of volumes written and published for the purpose of acquainting the American reading public with the facts that are most essential to a clear understanding of the motives and forces that are energizing the Russian national movement.

By all odds the most journalistic and vivid of these presentations is "The Russian Revolution,"<sup>1</sup> by Isaac Don Levine, a young Russian writer who is now on the staff of the New York *Tribune* and has contributed articles on Russia to this REVIEW (April and June, 1917). Mr. Levine's knowledge of the revolutionary movement, its personnel and ideals, gives his work an element of intelligence that has been lacking in much of the recently published comment on the revolution and its causes. His first chapter is entitled "A Century of Struggle for Freedom" and one-third of the entire volume is devoted to a survey of the forces that were gradually mobilized in Russia for the culminating "drive" of last March. Then Mr. Levine proceeds to tell what actually happened and how far the aims of the revolutionary leaders have been realized. His terse and graphic narrative of Petrograd's days of transition from absolutism to modern democracy can hardly be surpassed.

The machinery of the Russian autocracy and the methods by which it was able to keep to the last its strangle hold on the civic and economic life of the people are described in detail by William English Walling in "Russia's Message,"<sup>2</sup> a book written ten years ago, after the author had passed the greater part of two years in close contact with Russian government officials, as well as with the leaders of revolutionary organizations after the temporary failure of their uprising in 1905. The living conditions of Russia's 100,000,-

<sup>1</sup> The Russian Revolution. By Isaac Don Levine. Harpers. 280 pp. \$1.

<sup>2</sup> Russia's Message. By William English Walling. Alfred A. Knopf. 245 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>3</sup> The Russians: An Interpretation. By Richardson Wright. Stokes. 288 pp. \$1.50.

DURING the past three months publishers have made unusual exertions to meet the American demand for informing books about modern Russia. In our May number we mentioned, with brief comment, two important works in this field—Kornilov's "Modern Russian History" and Stephen Graham's "Russia in 1916"—

000 peasants—the factor of prime importance in the situation—are clearly set forth by Mr. Walling in this volume, which is published at a popular price.

Another help and stimulating study of this adolescent among the nations, as Russia has been called, is "The Russians: an Interpretation,"<sup>3</sup> by Richardson Wright, an American newspaper correspondent. "What Russia has been makes her what she is to-day. We cannot understand the Russia to come until we understand what she has been." So Mr. Wright undertakes to interpret for American readers the Russian's music, art, literature, business life—in short, his national ideals as they have been slowly evolved in the process of the years. The book opens up to us some of the possibilities of this virile and half-developed people.

The viewpoint of the Russian educated class is nowhere so clearly presented as in "The Shield,"<sup>4</sup> a volume published in Russia by the Society for the Study of Jewish Life (in which no Jews are allowed membership) and now offered in an English translation. "The Shield" is significant in that fifteen men of letters, publicists, and scientists unite in demanding the abrogation of Jewish disabilities in Russia. Besides making clear the attitude of Russia's real leaders on this vitally important question, the book reveals in a striking way the Russian spirit of race sympathy and tolerance. A foreword is supplied by William English Walling.

It is quite another Russia—the Russia of the Romanoffs—of which we catch glimpses in Madame Olga Novikoff's "Russian Memories."<sup>5</sup> More than forty years ago Madame Novikoff began her persistent campaign to bring Russia and Great Britain together. Lord Beaconsfield called her "the M. P. for Russia in England"; Gladstone helped her untiring efforts; William T. Stead was early enlisted in her cause. It has been given to few women to serve so effectively in promoting international amity. But the "Holy Russia" of Madame Novikoff seems almost as remote from the Russia of Miliukoff and Kerensky as the England of George III and Lord North from the Britain of Lloyd George.

"Russia Then and Now, 1892-1917,"<sup>6</sup> reminds us of the relief efforts that were put forth in this country for the victims of the Russian famine of 1891-92. The author, Mr. Francis B. Reeves, supervised the delivery and distribution of a cargo

<sup>4</sup> The Shield. Edited by Gorky, Andreyev, Sologub. Alfred A. Knopf. 209 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>5</sup> Russian Memories. By Madame Olga Novikoff. Dutton. 310 pp. \$3.50.

<sup>6</sup> Russia Then and Now—1892-1917. By Frances B. Reeves. Putnam. 186 pp. \$1.50.

of supplies sent by the city of Philadelphia at that time of suffering. He pictures the country and people as he saw them.

Constance Garnett's translation of three stories by Fyodor Dostoevsky will assist readers unfamiliar with the Russian temperament to a better understanding of recent events in Russia. The title story, "The Eternal Husband,"<sup>1</sup> is a version of the triangle theme varied with the introduction of phases of abnormal psychology and with a twisting humor thoroughly Russian. "The Double" is a kind of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde tale with the same obvious moral. In the last story, one of the best of those translated into English, "The Gentle Spirit," one sees Life playing the pawnbroker to all men, regarding their comings and goings with assuredness of their end,

continually reminding them that the heroism of their youth which they would exchange for treasure is not worth a farthing. Dostoevsky discerns that the true maturity of the soul is manifest in youth, while the body is plastic and the mind free from worldly sophistication.

"The New Convert,"<sup>2</sup> a play of the Russian Revolution, in four acts, by Sergei Stepniak, shows us the forces working for the freedom of Russia. Stepniak was a member of the Tchaikovsky group, of which many members have either been executed or died in prisons or in exile. Prince Kropotkin states in the introduction that he was one of the pioneers who decided to "go to the people." He was accidentally killed in the prime of his powers on a London railroad crossing. The translation is by Thomas B. Eges.

## REPRESENTATIVE FICTION

ERNEST POOLE'S first novel, "The Harbor,"<sup>3</sup> pictured contrasting types of our newer Americans in the ferment of their own spiritual and mental unrest. The novel pleased the radicals because it was revolutionary, the conservatives because it was genuinely constructive. Mr. Poole's second novel, "His Family,"<sup>4</sup> is as essentially American as the first, but his canvas has been narrowed. It lacks in the epic breadth of "The Harbor," which conveyed the impression of great tides of life incoming and outgoing. Roger Gale is an old-fashioned New Yorker, a man who came to the metropolis when it was still a city of houses, separate homes, quiet streets with rustling trees, with people on the door-steps upon warm summer evenings, and groups of youngsters singing as they came trooping by in the dark. His daughters typify the three principal types of woman-kind. Laura is a warm-hearted, worldly woman, careless of the finer things of life, living for the passing joys each day may bring. Edith is the mother-woman, perfect but prudish and narrow in her motherhood, for she fights her battles only for her own brood. Deborah is a school-teacher who mothers the children, large and small, in a community and fortunately does not miss her own happiness and the bearing of her own child. What are we all but children? Roger Gale says at the end: "What is humanity but a child? In the name of the dead, I salute the unborn." Mr. Poole has given us a fine, thoughtful story poignant with rebellion against the stupid brevity of human life and full of conviction that our personal happiness can be obtained only through building happiness for the whole human race.

The gifted teller of tales of India, F. W. Bain, has felt that he must offer excuse for another story of the "Moony Crested God and the Daughter of the Snow," when men are dying on the battlefields of Europe. He asks if one may not snatch a few moments from the contemplation of

<sup>1</sup> The Eternal Husband. By Fyodor Dostoevsky. Macmillan. 323 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup> The New Convert. By Sergei Stepniak. Boston: Stratford Co. 121 pp. \$1.

<sup>3</sup> His Family. By Ernest Poole. Macmillan. 320 pp. \$1.50.

political crimes, bloodshed and treachery for the enjoyment of innocent illusion. For his suggestion that Mother Goose survives beyond manifesteros and protocols, we are grateful and assure those who have read "A Digit of the Moon" and "The Ashes of a God" with amazement and joy, that they will find equal pleasure in "The Livery of Eve,"<sup>5</sup> a beautiful tale of the devices by which Aparajita, the daughter of a Naga, a water nymph, more beautiful than any mortal woman, overcame the hatred of women that burned in the bosom of the young King Keshawa.

For all who love children, and in particular for young mothers, there is a perfect idyll of motherhood, "One Year of Pierrot,"<sup>6</sup> by L. G. Hornby. The father of Pierrot tended the roses in a garden in the French town of Beaulieu that looks across the blue Mediterranean to the Island of Corsica. But before little Pierrot came the good Pierre died, and it was left to an American "Monsieur Jack Martin" to provide for Pierrot and his mother in return for certain care of his household. Pierrot's mother tells the story of one year of a baby's life, but earth and heaven are mirrored in that year. Pierrot goes away one morning while the sun is shining and the birds are singing. His peasant mother with the limpid French soul feels because many people came to honor Pierrot that she was burying a soldier: "I felt like the mother of a soldier."

"Mistress Anne,"<sup>7</sup> by Temple Bailey, gives us a most engaging picture of a high-minded American girl who is not ashamed of honest work nor snared by fascinating frivolity. While it is primarily a wholesome love story, beneath the surface is a call to service in the great army that work for public weal. Anne Warfield is one of the most delightful heroines of the year's novels.

<sup>4</sup> The Livery of Eve. By F. W. Bain. Putnam. 162 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>5</sup> One Year of Pierrot. By L. G. Hornby. Houghton Mifflin. 361 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

<sup>6</sup> Mistress Anne. By Temple Bailey. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co. Ill. 307 pp. \$1.35.

# LITERARY BIOGRAPHY AND CRITICISM

**I**N the literary world, the spring of 1917 has been distinguished by a revival of interest in Swinburne, and a succession of new books by and about the poet. Chatto & Windus publish "The Boyhood of Algernon Charles Swinburne," by his cousin, Mrs. Disney Leith; Swinburne's posthumous poems, edited by Thomas J. Wise and Edmund Gosse, is soon forthcoming (Heinemann) and Mr. Gosse's complete biography of Swinburne is already published.<sup>1</sup> The *London Times* book reviewer writes that "Mr. Gosse was born and bred to write the life of Swinburne. . . . An official biography would have made him seem uninteresting to all the young; they would have glanced at it and said 'just what I thought' and read his poems no more. But you cannot glance at this book without reading it through, and having read it you will wish to read the poems again."

He has made Swinburne corporeal, yet placed him in fairyland. The "legends of superhuman cleverness and superdiabolic audacity" are somehow made compatible with the facts of existence. One feels that to Gosse and to Watts-Dunton, Swinburne was always an invincible child. His mental and spiritual ardors were accentuated by his physical strangeness. His blazing red hair, slender figure, sloping shoulders, restless, jerky movements, and abnormally large head balanced over a slender, fragile body, gave him a fairy-like appearance.

The volume contains in its appendices a letter from George Moore on Swinburne, and Mallarme, others by Lord Redesdale, one from Sir George Otto Trevelyan on Pauline, Lady Trevelyan, Swinburne's "good angel," and lists of Swinburne's posthumous writings. These latter include some short monographs upon some of the Elizabethan dramatists which Swinburne had thought of using in a second series of "The Age of Shakespeare." Mr. Gosse thinks the most valuable portion of the hitherto unpublished work consists of the "Border Ballads" found by Watts-Dunton among the poet's papers. There are eight of these, but Watts-Dunton thought many had been destroyed. It is announced that the privately printed volume of Swinburne's correspondence will be published shortly.

"In Good Company,"<sup>2</sup> a book of personal reminiscences by Coulson Kernahan, there is a vivid chapter that recalls the author's visit to Watts-Dunton's villa, "The Pines," and a stormy scene with Swinburne when he expressed his wrath over certain imitations of his poetry and laid bare in one sentence the secret of his own poetic art. Other visits are recorded and their impressions make us see Swinburne again as a child; his intellect because—not in spite of its magnificence—keeping the child in him alive to the very last. Other papers give frankly personal studies of Lord Roberts, Watts-Dunton, Oscar Wilde, Edward Whymper, S. J. Stone and Stephen Phillips.

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne. By Edmund Gosse. Macmillan. 363 pp. \$3.50.

<sup>2</sup> In Good Company. By Coulson Kernahan. Lane. 273 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Arthur Symon's volume of literary appreciations, "Figures of Several Centuries,"<sup>3</sup> includes a tribute to Swinburne to which he has given the best of his gift for re-creating the emotional glamour of great literature. He presents the poems of Swinburne in symbolism that at once initiates the reader into the spells evoked by them. He writes that "the whole essence of Swinburne seems to be made by the rush and the soft flowing impetus of the sea."

The other literary portraits and appreciations include more than twenty of such diverse types as St. Augustine and Walter Pater. In the study of Thomas Hardy, in a brief half-dozen pages, Symons has dissected and analyzed the novelist as story-teller, philosopher and psychologist in a piece of memorable and distinguished criticism. Hardy, the poet of the blind and dumb forces of nature, the seer who knows the "moods of the seasons, winds in their different tempers, trees, waters and mists, shades and silences, and the voices of inanimate things" seems to him the last, greatest and final Hardy.

It seems a lack of gratitude for the great service to literature rendered by the editors and makers of the "Cambridge History of English Literature,"<sup>4</sup> to cavil at the fourteenth and closing volume of the series which summarizes the literary activities of the later part of the Nineteenth Century. We are looking at the Nineteenth Century through the magnifying glass of the rapidly developing international mind of the Twentieth, and beneath the revelations of the glass, the record seems, as Professor Lewisohn has written, full of "grim and militant provincialism." The volume contains surveys of the literature of philosophy, history, biography, politics, journalism, science, travel, sports, achievements, various British dependencies, and a review of the changes in the English tongue since the time of Shakespeare. It is a miscellany of both brilliant and careless workmanship, and its value will depend largely upon the individual reader's interpretation of what is meant by history. In the minds of thinkers history has ever exceeded its definition as a systematic narration of facts and appeared as a distinct creation in view of the acute selective and interpretative powers necessary to wrest historical unity from the nebulae of assembled facts. Lack of this unity dims the lustre of the three volumes on the Nineteenth Century—the inner impulse of various groups is lost in the presentation of outer facts.

The most common accusation made against American writers is that they are lacking in the faculty of criticism. They praise overmuch, they present historical perspective, they write charming pages of exposition, but of the critical faculty they are conspicuously in need. If this is true, and the examination of the pages of anonymous criticism in most foreign periodicals and newspapers in comparison with those published in this

<sup>3</sup> Figures of Several Centuries. By Arthur Symons. Dutton. 398 pp. \$3.

<sup>4</sup> The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. XIV. Putnam's.

country would seem to uphold the verdict, according to Professor Spingarn's opinions, as set forth in "Creative Criticism,"<sup>1</sup> a new volume of essays, it is because we have manifested as yet little real creative genius, for criticism and creation have an artistic identity. John La Farge's sentence from *Considerations of Painting* epitomizes the belief: "To enjoy as it were, to create; to understand is a form of equality, and the full use of taste is an act of genius." The essays are: "The New Criticism," "Dramatic Criticism and the Theatre," "Prose and Verse," and "Creative Connoisseurship." The appendix has a note on genius and taste which takes issue with a recent expression from John Galsworthy in regard to the new criticism.

Samuel Butler, whose heterodoxical doctrines have been recovered from the literary limbo of the nineteenth century by discerning readers, wrote in "The Note-Books,"<sup>2</sup> selections arranged and edited by Henry Festings Jones, his literary executor and closest friend, that "the ages do their thinking much as the individual does. When considering a difficult question we think alternately for several seconds together of details, even the minutest seeming important, and then of broad general principles, whereupon even large details become unimportant; again we have bouts during which rules, logic and technicalities engross us, followed by others in which the unwritten and unwritable common sense overrides the law. That is to say we have our inductive fits and our deductive fits." . . . Farther on he questions the miracle by which this undigested, heterogeneous mass of considerations forms itself into the "mental pabulum with which we feed our minds. From whence are our complete opinions"? This curiosity was one of the reasons Samuel Butler formed the habit of setting down in his note-book the observations that swept torrentially into his super-active mind. And humanity is his debtor for the intellectual adventuring that unfortunately came to an end "before the label was invented," as Mr. Francis Byrne Hackett aptly observes in the introduction to this reprint.

"Six Major Prophets,"<sup>3</sup> by Dr. Edwin Slosson, is a companion volume to his "Major Prophets of To-day." The men of the newer book are: Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Gilbert K. Chesterton, F. C. S. Schiller, John Dewey, and Rudolph Eucken. Each article is followed by a list of the author's works and suggested sources for information. Dr. Slosson has much that is worth while to say of Shaw, likewise of Chesterton whom he interprets first as a poet, next as the movie actor of literature who runs at a break-neck pace over the hurdles of his pet prejudices clad in the harlequinries of his wit. Both these books are most instructive and readable, and have undeniable attractions for all classes of readers.

<sup>1</sup> Creative Criticism. By J. E. Spingarn. Holt. 138 pp. \$1.20.

<sup>2</sup> The Note-Books of Samuel Butler. Dutton. 437 pp. \$2.

<sup>3</sup> Six Major Prophets. By Edwin E. Slosson. Little, Brown. 310 pp. \$1.50.

Twenty-three sprightly interviews with leading American writers taken down by Joyce Kilmer are published in a volume, "Literature in the Making."<sup>4</sup> Among the writers are: William Dean Howells, Booth Tarkington, Robert Chambers, Edward S. Martin, Robert Herrick, John Erskine, John Burroughs, Amy Lowell, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Charles Rann Kennedy, and other great and lesser lights of American literature.

Mr. Howells thinks that no great realistic literature or art can arise outside of democracy. Burroughs advises aspirants to seek the repose of the country in order to produce literature. Edwin Arlington Robinson begs poets to decently publish their work and then let it alone. Charles Rann Kennedy calls attention to the "heresy of supermanism."

Just before his death in February last, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, himself the last surviving member of the "Concord group," famous in American philosophy and letters, had completed his "Life of Henry David Thoreau."<sup>5</sup> The volume contains new material of Thoreau's ancestry, besides essays written in his youth and heretofore unpublished, poems and other compositions not generally known. In Mr. Sanborn's own words: "There are many writers of Nature, but there is only one Thoreau; many Stoics, ancient and modern, but only this one affectionate Stoic since Marcus Aurelius."

From "The Wayfarers Library" there is a popular edition of "The Brontes and Their Circle," by Clement Shorter (Dutton). "The Home University Library" (Holt) offers "John Galsworthy," a biography and critical estimate of his works, with portrait and bibliography, by Sheila Kaye Smith, and "Henry James," by Rebecca West. These little handbooks of the lives and works of famous authors written by expert craftsmen of the younger generation are placed within reach of all by their moderate price, 60 cents per volume.

"The English Essayists," by William Hawley Davis, Professor of English at Bowdoin College (Badger) contains studies of the important writers of essays from Montaigne to Stevenson. The bringing together of information about these men in a convenient form supplies a lack felt by all students of English literature, facilitates comparison, and aids appreciation.

"An Evening in My Library Among the English Poets," by the Honorable Stephen Coleridge (John Lane), gives the illusion of an intimate evening's conversation with a literary friend over his favorite poets, the friend now and again reading musically some bit of fine inspiration or honeyed melody. It is a book written with no particular end in view, but one which definitely assists in the development of literary taste, by teaching us how to enjoy beautiful poetry.

<sup>4</sup> Literature in the Making. By Joyce Kilmer. Harper Bros. 319 pp. \$1.40.

<sup>5</sup> A Life of Henry D. Thoreau. By Frank B. Sanborn. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 542 pp. \$4.

## AMONG THE VERSE WRITERS

THE Imagist anthology, with its broken lines and irregular rhythms, calls to mind the poetic work of the father of the so-called "Yawp School" of newspaper poetry, the late Colonel William James Lampton, whose death occurred in New York on the thirtieth of May. Lampton had written *vers libre* from the beginning of his journalistic career, but the form he invented only came into prominence in 1890, when Lampton was on the staff of *The Washington Star*. He wrote a "yawp," "The American Eagle Speaks," in what he called the "scream measure," and while the stuff proved too eccentric for *The Star*, Charles A. Dana liked the verse and used it in the *New York Sun*. It was afterward copied by newspapers and periodicals from coast to coast. In 1900, Colonel Lampton published a volume entitled "Yawps," which called forth this praise from Colonel Henry Watterson in the introduction: "In the era of news in rhyme, Lampton came with the pioneers—with Stanton and Hall, and the rest of the successors to Prentiss and Hatcher and Albert Roberts. Theirs was a nimble and a current wit. His was not less so."

Lampton described his own verse in a characteristic "yawp":

"It rhythms  
When it rhythms;  
It rhymes  
Sometimes,  
But whether it does  
Or not.

It gets there just the same."

One of the cleverest bits of this verse Lampton ever wrote was his reply to Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe." Lampton's idea of the "brother to the ox," was the prosperous Yankee agriculturist, a man who didn't even have a hoe but ran his cultivator by steam.

On his personal side Colonel Lampton knew nearly all the famous men of his time, and will be long remembered as the kindest of friends to many aspirants for literary honors who sought his advice. He was an irrepressible optimist, and an invincible patriot. In one of his publications, a curious documentary compilation of the philosophy of a Congressman from Wayback, "Judge Waxem's Pocketbook," he wrote many axioms applicable to the present times and well worth remembering.

"The Star Spangled Banner is uncorruptible."

"A man may change his politics, but he can't change his patriotism."

"The Monroe Doctrine ain't a menace but a manifestation."

"The Cornstalk is Uncle Sam's walking stick."

"There's men fooling around the Ship of State that don't know a gang plank from a jack staff."

The third Imagist anthology, "Some Imagist Poets, 1917,"<sup>1</sup> merits sincere praise. Six poets have given of their best to the volume: Richard Aldington, the talented English woman who signs

herself "H. D.," John Gould Fletcher, F. S. Flint, D. H. Lawrence, and Amy Lowell. In different ways these poets penetrate farther upon the frontiers of the unadventured realm of the imagination than most of their contemporaries. On days when the lilt of rhyme and the drone of iambics become unbearable, the Imagist anthology will shake one clear of old mental grooves with its clear crisp sculptural interpretations of beauty.

Rifleman Patrick MacGill has written a volume of "Soldier Songs,"<sup>2</sup> most of them while actually under fire. They are graphic, a bit Kiplingesque, sometimes humorous, but more often full of the poignancy of the actual scenes of the conflict. In the introduction he tells us what songs the soldiers actually sing in the trenches. They are songs of the march, the trench, the billet and battle. "Their origin is lost; the songs have arisen like old folk tales. Tipperary means home when it is sung in the shell-shattered billet. On the long march, Tipperary is Berlin, the goal of high enterprise and great adventure."

"April Elegy,"<sup>3</sup> by Arthur Davidson Ficke, sings in the title poem the elegy of the love of two human people who meet, love, and part. The lyrical interludes constitute the gripping beauty of the poem, for the actual narrative is thinned in spots until passion is utterly lost. The other poems are groups under the headings: "Lyrics," "Seven Japanese Paintings," and "Café Sketches." The eight sonnets are very beautiful. Excellent workmanship and lyric freedom characterize the volume as a whole.

In "The Wisdom of the East Series," edited by L. Cranmer-Byng, and Dr. S. A. Kapadia, there is now published a treasure for students of poetry, "A Feast of Lanterns,"<sup>4</sup> translations from the work of twenty Chinese poets. The introduction explains the tenets of Chinese poetic art, their reverence and love for flowers, symbolism in poetry, and the lore of the Dragon, one of the four spiritually endowed creatures of China. There are also interesting comments on the epochs of Chinese poetry, and on the great storehouse of verse that remains untranslated into Western tongues.

"Hallow-E'en and Poems of the War,"<sup>5</sup> by W. M. Letts, an English poet, contains many fine poems, several of which have received praise on previous publication in English magazines. "Hallow-E'en, 1915," "He Prayed," and "The Spires of Oxford," have a rare quality and deserve a place among the best expressions of the war spirit in poetry.

<sup>2</sup> Soldier Songs. By Patrick MacGill. Dutton. 120 pp. \$1.

<sup>3</sup> An April Elegy. By Arthur Davidson Ficke. Kennerley. 160 pp. \$1.50.

<sup>4</sup> A Feast of Lanterns. Dutton. 95 pp. 80 cents.

<sup>5</sup> Hallow-E'en and Other Poems of the War. By W. M. Letts. Dutton. 100 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>1</sup> Some Imagist Poets, 1917. Houghton, Mifflin. 86 pp. 75 cents.

## PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

**S**TUDENTS of New Thought have found considerable difficulty in correlating the theories of the various cults to define a common basis for New Thought teachings. Dr. Horatio W. Dresser, the well-known author of books of philosophical theory and religion, has prepared a much-needed "Handbook of The New Thought,"<sup>1</sup> which brings together the multitude of its teachings, estimates them, points the way beyond most of them, and does away with all misunderstanding. The quality of Dr. Dresser's common sense is shown in his definitions of "concentration," "meditation," and "going into the silence," etc., as used by the followers of New Thought. Moreover, he includes all the cults in one definition: They are manifestations of the "New Christianity."

In another volume, "The Spirit of New Thought,"<sup>2</sup> Dr. Dresser brings together a series of papers—not altogether in agreement—by recognized leaders of New Thought. There are twenty-two essays arranged to acquaint the reader with salient doctrines and divergent points of view. Nearly all of the essays have a bearing on the life of everyday and are vivified by a spirit of helpfulness and optimism.

"New Thought Christianized,"<sup>3</sup> is the title of a well-written book by James Campbell, author of many works on religion. Its contents discuss the law of suggestion, fear and its antidotes, the folly of worry, repose and how to get it, health and religion, true optimism, the power of initiative, self-control *versus* divine control, and the higher environment. Dr. Campbell is in agreement with Dr. Dresser in fundamentals. To our formulas must be added "the coöperating grace of Christ," and his type of affirmations, while more modest than those of most New Thought adherents, will please those who find that even in our pursuit of the highest good best results come through self-control and moderation. This is an excellent book for the orthodox Christian who wants to come over into the New Thought camp without the loss of one jot of his Christianity.

"How to Develop Your Personality,"<sup>4</sup> by Clare Tree Major, carries a foreword by Sir Herbert Tree and a preface by Francis Trevelyan Miller; also recommendations by Frank A. Vanderlip, Carrie Chapman Catt, Frederick Collins, and Edith Wynne Matthison. It will help many people to develop their inner resources and thereby broaden and heighten their careers. The author presents her teachings in a straightforward, sensible manner and deals successively with physical personality, vocal personality, self-expression and mental power. Mrs. Major is a graduate of the Academy of Dramatic Art in London and director of the School for Acting connected with the Washington Square Players' organization in New York.

<sup>1</sup> Hand Book of The New Thought. By Horatio Dresser. Putnam. 263 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>2</sup> The Spirit of The New Thought. Edited by Horatio Dresser. Crowell. 297 pp. \$1.25.

<sup>3</sup> New Thought Christianized. By James M. Campbell. D. D. Crowell. 152 pp. \$1.

<sup>4</sup> How to Develop Your Personality. By Clare Tree Major. Crowell. 121 pp. \$1.

"The Looking Glass,"<sup>5</sup> by Dr. Frank Crane, contains his well-known preachments of optimistic philosophy, humor, sunshine, and common sense.

"The History and Practise of Psychoanalysis,"<sup>6</sup> by Poul Bjerre, the noted Danish writer, will be of immense service to persons of neurotic tendencies and those who wish to learn and practise the methods of psychotherapy. Dr. Bjerre does not agree wholly with Freud; it may be said his views more nearly approach a common-sense conception of the causes of mental inhibitions. The translation is by Elizabeth N. Barrow.

"Our Hidden Forces" (second edition), a scholarly work by Émile Boirac, Rector of the Academy of Dijon, France, easily places a scientific basis underneath investigations of spiritism and psychic phenomena by means of a record of simple experiments in the transference of magnetism. That the powers of magnetic attraction should be studied, controlled, intensified, and exerted at will is the theme of this notable and highly satisfactory book, which was awarded a prize of 2000 francs in a competitive contest of the Academy des Sciences of Paris. Translation and preface by Dr. W. de Kerlor.

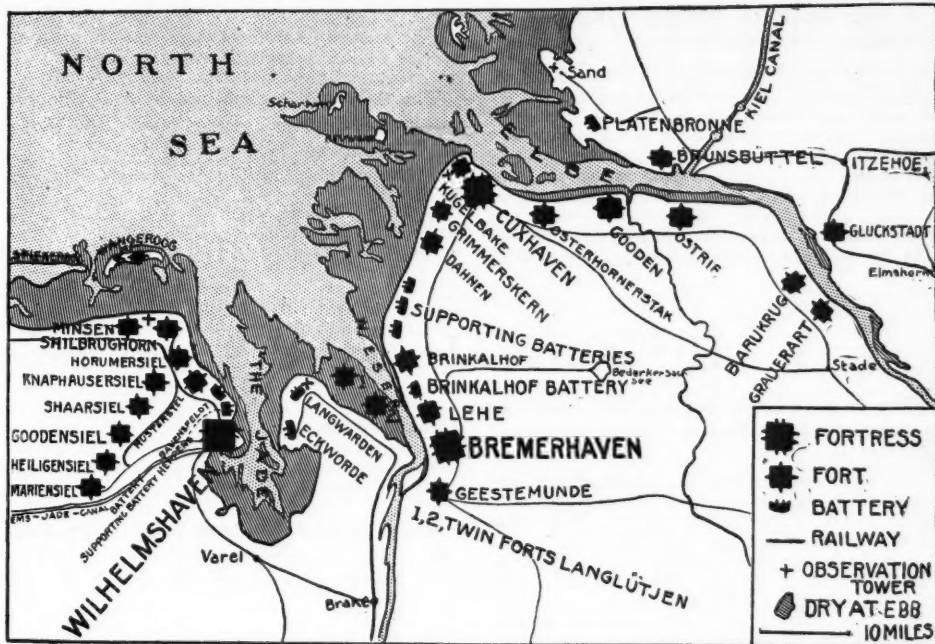
In "Marxian Socialism and Religion,"<sup>7</sup> Mr. John Spargo attempts a reconciliation of the Marxian system of Socialism with belief in God the Creator and Moral Ruler of the Universe and in the immortality of the soul. Mr. Spargo argues that since Socialism accepts natural laws, and since religion no longer considers this acceptance a denial of the existence of God, therefore Marxian Socialism is not at odds with religion. Karl Marx's statement that "the religious world is but a reflex of the real world" is not incompatible with the most passionate religious belief. It is not God who is destroyed by new conceptions, by change of economic environment, by democratic awakenings, it is our *idea of God*, the illusion prefigured by our own limited vision. The teachings of science and the idea of Infinite Intelligence are absolutely compatible, and the idea of the guidance of this Infinite Intelligence is entirely compatible with Marxism. This book is one of great value to the Socialist movement and to every individual whose thought turns toward the reconstruction of governments and social systems. The Socialism that will survive, the movements for the benefit of mankind that will prove durable are plainly those which strive for the "realization in the social order of the essential principles of religion." And these movements are by reason of their nature interdependent. Any retardation of the one is a clog upon the other.

<sup>5</sup> The Looking Glass. By Dr. Frank Crane. John Lane. 256 pp. \$1.

<sup>6</sup> The History and Practise of Psychoanalysis. By Poul Bjerre. Badger. 294 pp. \$3.

<sup>7</sup> Our Hidden Forces. By Émile Boirac. Stokes. 302 pp. Ill. \$2.

<sup>8</sup> Marxian Socialism and Religion. By John Spargo. Huebsch. 187 pp. \$1.



GERMANY'S COAST DEFENSES FRONTING THE NORTH SEA—FROM COUNT DE BEAUFORT'S  
"BEHIND THE GERMAN VEIL"

## WAR AND PREPARATION FOR WAR

**Present-Day Europe: Its National States of Mind.** By T. Lothrop Stoddard. Century Company. 322 pp. \$2.

Mr. Stoddard has written a book upon the European countries that are at war, in which he tells us nothing of what he has seen himself and virtually nothing of what he himself thinks. Many war books give us little but the limitations of the author, or his prejudices, or his own psychology. Mr. Stoddard undertakes to give us the psychology of the different European nations in a series of chapters. He lets the newspapers of those countries and the leaders of parties or factions speak for themselves. The result is a remarkable study of European politics by one of the most thorough and painstaking students of international affairs whom this war period has brought to the front. Mr. Stoddard's chapters on England, France, and Germany are excellent and instructive. But his chapters on Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia are more valuable relatively because American readers have been much more lacking in information about political drifts and tendencies in those countries. We can recommend very highly the chapter on the Balkans, to those who would like to understand what has been going on, not only in outward action, but in national sentiment and aim in the four ambitious countries of Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Rumania. There is a good analysis of the Turkish position, and briefer chapters on several of the smaller European countries. In view of the startling course of events in Russia, the reader

will perhaps find that Mr. Stoddard's chapter on the conflicting tendencies and policies of that great empire is the most helpful and timely portion of the book.

**Behind the German Veil.** By J. M. de Beaufort. Dodd, Mead & Co. 403 pp. \$2.

The author of this book of experiences behind the German lines had a marked advantage over most of the war correspondents who have penetrated the Kaiser's domains during the present war. His passport was nothing less than a letter to Von Hindenburg himself from his own nephew. By the use of this letter the author, who by birth and parentage is a Hollander, was enabled to gain access to German headquarters and later to the eastern front, where he saw fighting in Poland and East Prussia. Besides Von Hindenburg, many of the military and political leaders of Germany were interviewed, and vivid descriptions are given of Germany's coast defenses, her fleet and harbors.

**War Flying.** By a Pilot. Houghton, Mifflin. 117 pp. \$1.

This little book is made up of the letters from a young officer of the Royal Flying Corps to his home people during his period of training and service in the war. The letters carry a spirit of light-hearted optimism characteristic of the youth and daring of the members of the flying service.

**A Text-Book of Military Hygiene and Sanitation.** By Frank R. Keefer, A.M., M.D. W. B. Saunders Company. 305 pp. \$1.50.

The health of the soldier—always a matter of prime importance in any fighting force—becomes vastly more so to us in the United States at this time because of the impending concentration of our conscript armies early in the fall. The various phases of the business of caring for troops in camp, on the march, and on the battlefield, are dealt with in a non-technical manner in this volume by Lieutenant-Colonel Keefer, professor of

military hygiene at West Point, and will interest the layman as well as those who contemplate service in this branch of military activity.

**The Soldiers' English and French Conversation Book.** Compiled by Walter M. Galligan. Lippincott. 128 pp.

This convenient little pocket book, containing hundreds of appropriate sentences, phrases, and words, with correct pronunciation, should prove very useful in helping American soldiers to make themselves understood in France.

## HISTORICAL WORKS

**The Pacific Ocean in History.** Edited by H. Morse Stephens; Herbert E. Bolton. Macmillan. 535 pp. \$4.

The admirable research work conducted by historical departments of the University of California, Stanford University, and other institutions of the Pacific Coast, is well illustrated in the papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, held in July, 1915, and now brought together in a portly volume. The papers read at special sessions of the congress have to do with the Philippine Islands and their history, our own Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska, in their relations with the Pacific Ocean, Spanish America and the Pacific, and Japan and Australasia. Ex-President Roosevelt's address on the Panama Canal, in which he described the steps taken by his administration in acquiring the Canal Zone and beginning work on the Canal, is included in the volume.

**Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699.** Edited by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D. Scribner's. 382 pp. \$3.

The term "Northwest" in the title of this volume is used as it was employed in the Seventeenth Century to designate the region of the upper Great Lakes and the northeastern part of the Mississippi Valley. As explained in the introduction to this volume, the Great Lakes were discovered in the first half of the seventeenth century, while the exploration of the Mississippi Valley was the work of the second half. The present volume contains English translations of the narratives of the French discoverers, explorers, and empire builders in North America. It is a great convenience both to the historical student and to the general reader to have these materials arranged in a single volume.

**Mount Rainier: A Record of Exploration.** Edited by Edmond S. Meany. Macmillan. 325 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Visitors to Mount Rainier National Park during the present season will have for the first time in accessible form the record of the discovery and exploration of the mountain and its environs. The chronological order has been preserved in the arrangement of the materials, beginning with

the discovery and exploration of the mountain by Captain George Vancouver, of the British Navy. This volume is especially replete with information concerning the origin of place names in the Mount Ranier region.

**Chronicles of the Cape Fear River: 1660-1916.** By James Sprunt. Washington, D. C.: Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles, 142 A St. N. E. 732 pp. \$4.

Merely as a contribution to local history this volume is of more than ordinary importance, because of the unusual care that has been given to its preparation, and the excellent literary form in which it now appears. It happens, however, that the Cape Fear region of North Carolina has far more than a local or sectional interest. Besides having an important place in the Colonial and Revolutionary history of the country, the Port of Wilmington was famous throughout the Civil War as a refuge and objective for Confederate blockade runners. More than one hundred pages of this volume are devoted to an account of the blockade-running enterprises that centered at Wilmington, and of this episode the author writes from personal experience. There is an excellent map of the Cape Fear River and the approaches to Wilmington made from the Confederate engineer surveys.

**Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century.** By Charles Downer Hazen, William Roscoe Thayer, Robert Howard Lord. Claimants to Constantinople, by Archibald Cary Coolidge. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 93 pp. 75 cents.

Apropos of current discussion about the fate of Constantinople, these surveys of debates and discussions of the Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin are informing and suggestive. The basis of Russia's claims is clearly stated.

**The Red Rugs of Tarsus.** By Helen Davenport Gibbons. Century. 194 pp. \$1.25.

A personal narrative of a young Bryn Mawr graduate's experience at a mission station with her husband during the terrible Armenian massacre of 1909.

## REFERENCE BOOKS

**The New International Encyclopædia.** Second Edition. Dodd, Mead. 24 volumes. \$120.

In 1902, when the late Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, the first president of Johns Hopkins University, prepared the preface of the "International Encyclopædia" (First Edition), he named four attributes of the ideal encyclopædia: "First, accuracy of statement; second, comprehensiveness of scope; third, lucidity and attractiveness of presentation; and fourth, convenience of arrangement." While no encyclopædia has yet reached perfection, there would probably be general agreement among scholars and professional men that the "International" has approached more closely to Dr. Gilman's ideals than any work of its kind thus far published in America. Thousands of students and literary workers have found the "International" serviceable and no other work in the English language has so fully met their needs. After ten years a complete revision became necessary, and the publishers decided to make new plates so that topics and departments might be expanded and a great number of necessary new articles included. While this has been done, the essential features of the first "International" have all been retained. The subjects are placed under titles to which the reader would naturally turn first, a single alphabet being employed, with a liberal supply of cross references. A typographical improvement in the new edition is the insertion of black-face side heads in the longer articles. The progress of knowledge in the past decade, especially in such fields as aeronautics and wireless telegraphy, has required the preparation of entirely new treatises. So far as possible, the treatment of scientific subjects is non-technical. The aim of the editors has been to produce a comprehensive and popular work, fitted to answer in the simplest and most direct way the questions that come up for solution in the day's work of the ordinary man and woman. We reserve for later comment a few of the new and striking features of this admirable work, especially the history of the war and the outline courses of reading and study contained in the final volume.

**The New International Year Book.** Dodd, Mead & Co. 839 pp. \$6.

Because of the Presidential campaign and election, the "International Year Book" for 1916, tenth in the series that began with 1907, is a larger volume than usual. The war is necessarily covered in some detail, which also adds to the length of the volume. The plan of the work involves up-to-date revision of all economic, social, and literary topics, and new illustrations and maps are included in each successive volume.

**English Pronouncing Dictionary.** By Daniel Jones, M.A. Dutton. 419 pp. \$3.

This work, compiled by Daniel Jones, M.A., Reader in Phonetics in the University of London, has great value for those who are familiar with existing systems of phonetics, and also affords in its most scholarly and competent

introductory material instructions in phonetics for those unfamiliar with the science. The pronunciations used are those of cultivated people in the South of England. Special features of this dictionary are the inclusion of proper names, plurals of nouns, comparatives and superlatives of adjectives and inflected forms of verbs.

**What Is English?** By C. H. Ward, M.A. Scott, Foresman & Co. 261 pp. \$1.

Mr. Ward, who is head of the department of English in the Taft School, at Watertown, Connecticut, has ideas of his own about the true aim of English teaching in our schools. He thinks that every pupil should be taught English with a view primarily to the expression of his own thought. Approaching his theme from this viewpoint, Mr. Ward embodies in his little book the results of many years' experience in teaching such humdrum subjects as spelling, grammar, and punctuation. The value of the treatise lies in this—that it shows how all these details relate themselves to the main theme and how the teacher, by illustrating the best usage, may point the way to his pupils for an intelligent acquisition of the ability to express themselves clearly and forcibly. In style and method Mr. Ward's book is itself an excellent object-lesson in effective composition.

**Debaters' Manual.** Compiled by Edith M. Phelps. H. W. Wilson Co. 181 pp. \$1.

**National Defense.** Vol. II. Compiled by Agnes Van Valkenburg. H. W. Wilson Co. 204 pp. \$1.25.

**Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic.** Compiled by Lamar T. Beman. H. W. Wilson Co. 237 pp. \$1.25.

**Prison Reform.** Compiled by Corinne Bacon. H. W. Wilson Co. 309 pp. \$1.

**Capital Punishment.** Compiled by C. E. Fanning. H. W. Wilson Co. 299 pp. \$1.25.

This magazine is aware of the remarkable popularity of the debate, both in school and out, as a means of arousing interest in study and research and also as a means of acquiring facility of speech. Readers seeking material for the preparation of debates have been referred to a series of volumes compiled by the H. W. Wilson Company, at White Plains, N. Y. Each volume deals with a distinct topic, and contains reprints of the best reference material available—in books, magazines, and pamphlets—on both sides of the question. There is, besides, much original material, including a brief, a bibliography, etc. The whole is carefully selected, prepared, and arranged. Four of the recent volumes in this Debaters' Handbook Series are: "National Defense, Vol. II," including Compulsory Military Service; "Prison Reform"; "Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic," and "Capital Punishment." There is also a revised edition of the "Debaters' Manual," which began the series. In all, there have been thirty-five volumes. Many of the topics—such as the direct election of Senators—have ceased to be matters of argument and debate.

# FINANCIAL NEWS

## 1.—OUTLOOK FOR SECURITIES AND COMMODITIES

EUROPE is approaching the fourth year of her war. The United States is coming to the end of her third month of war. In this short period definite readjustments in the prices of securities and commodities have occurred. Permanent changes are evident. As the whole nation settles down to the business of war it is clear that there will have to be a revaluation, so long as war lasts, of the things that are not essential to life, as well as of those which are primary in the trade of war. The purpose of this article this month is to indicate the possible trend of stocks and bonds, of the so-called speculative commodities, and of real estate.

### *The Automobile Industry*

There are very few listed or unlisted stocks of industries that cater directly to luxuries. Most of these trades are controlled by concerns whose stocks and bonds are not on the market. An exception is the automobile. As that industry had been developed in most instances by individuals, the need for more working capital led to the flotation of large amounts of stocks. These have been widely distributed in the past two years under the influence of attractive profits and the general knowledge that the average man had of the industry and its place in the life of the country. Great fortunes have been made in buying and holding the common shares of such concerns as General Motors, whose original stock sold at 850; Studebaker, which rose to nearly 200; Willys-Overland, which sold at 325, and all from very lowly beginnings.

Before it was supposed that the United States would enter the war the high cost of materials had begun to make serious inroads on the profits of the pleasure-car producers. Competition with low-priced standard makers had also occasioned a revision of estimated gains for 1917. By the end of March automobile stocks had receded a great deal. The average quotation then of four popular common stocks was more than 50 per cent. below that of the maximum average of 1915 and 1916. In other words, these stocks,

which, on the basis of the original capitalization, had reached an average of about \$370 a share, dropped to an average of \$175 a share. This had discounted a great deal. In fact, during the June quarter, when production fell off very seriously, the lowest average reached was only \$155 a share.

The question will be fully determined now as to whether the automobile is a luxury or a necessity. Probably the middle ground will be adopted as containing the truth of the matter. Much depends on the length of the war. Great commercial advantage is every day taken of the cars of minimum and moderate price. They have suffered relatively little in the economy campaign that has been sweeping the land. Their daily uses are manifold. In Canada, where there have been three years of admonition to save and help the government in its prosecution of the war, the sales of low-priced cars have increased. They are a recognized part of the country's transportation system. It is equally true that cars serving only the purposes of pleasure have not been in demand. Abroad, factories producing them have been transformed into plants for the manufacture of munitions. It was not surprising to learn, therefore, that there had been extensive cancellations here in May and June of orders for luxury cars or to hear that makers were turning to the business of producing commercial trucks and aeroplanes to maintain their organizations and continue their profits. It is obvious that the demand for pleasure cars must slowly recede during the life of the war with Germany; on the other hand, the building of trucks for the army and of the lighter vehicles for delivery of goods will rapidly increase.

In England nearly every form of trade is incorporated and its shares listed. The stocks of hotels, restaurants, bakeries, retailers of dry goods, of men's furnishings, dealers in jewels, *objets d'art*, etc., could be bought by the investing public. With the war and its readjustments the profits of such enterprises shrank and the shares came down in proportion to increase the depression in the

market-place. There are almost no stocks of this character quoted here. Next to the automobile industry the brewing and distilling trades face the greatest losses, and, as there is a widely scattered ownership in the stocks and bonds of such companies, it had been necessary for their shareholders to re-inventory their investment accounts.

#### *Producers of War Equipment*

The other side of the picture deals with the stocks of corporations supplying the raw materials or the manufactured goods that go to fill war requirements. The central position is held by iron and steel securities. Since relations with Germany were severed in February there has been an average advance in five common stocks of steel producers of about \$35 a share. Dividends have been increased. Net earnings in the June quarter of the United States Steel Corporation are estimated at \$130,000,000, or 30 per cent. more than was made during the entire year 1914. Companies making railroad equipment, those manufacturing clothing, shoes, or machinery, those building ships, the dreadnought or the submarine, the makers of wagons and harness, of aeroplanes, of powder, rifles, shells, and cannon, the producers of coal, copper, and lead, the hewers of wood, have all seen the potential values of their shares advancing.

#### *Railroad and Public-Utility Shares*

In the middle ground are the interstate transportation lines and the utilities identified with city traffic and the production of light, heat, and power, all enjoying the greatest gross revenues in their history, but confronted with rising costs in every form of material they consume and constantly having to make readjustments upwards in the wages of their employees. There is every prospect of some relief to both interests through higher rates by the Interstate Commerce Commission and from State utilities bodies. The depreciation in all railroad securities the past year has been very great. Many of the very best dividend-paying preferred stocks are selling lower than in twenty years, although the 1916 net results were the best ever made. This reflects what has been feared, rather than what has taken place. It is believed to be good investment judgment to take advantage of 6 to 6½ per cent. returns on prime railroad stocks.

The bonds of railroads and public utilities not only have reacted from the conditions

pulling down the stocks of such corporations, but from the effect of an enormous foreign liquidation, competition with the high returns on European government loans placed here, a rising rate of interest, and, latterly, by sales against subscriptions to the Liberty Loan. In some instances these have been to provide means to pay for the government issue and in others to get the larger net return of a tax-exempt bond over bonds which are taxable and figure in an income paying a large super-tax. We cannot see much prospect of recovery in the first-mortgage 4 to 5 per cent. railroad bonds so long as war financing continues. The probabilities are that they will still further recede from their level of to-day. This applies to bonds of long maturities. A bond returning 4½ per cent. will suffer more in proportion than one giving 5 per cent. or higher yield. As for the junior mortgages whose return runs all the way from 5 to 8 per cent., they will benefit from the demand for substantial yields to balance the low income of United States Government bonds, and where they represent reorganized properties, from the possibilities of speculative profits.

#### *Municipal and Government Securities*

State, municipal, and government bond issues that have no circulation value have been, and are likely to be, affected the same as corporation issues. During June there was a rather violent decline in New York City 4½ and 4⅓ per cent. descriptions. The latter touched 111 in January and have since declined to 102, while the former have reacted to 99 from 106. The U. S. Panama 3s of 1961, which were above 102 in January, have recently sold as low as 88, which places them on the same yield basis as the Liberty Loan 3½s. Holders of United States Government bonds have not experienced such a slump as this during the present generation. The 3s are now about where French 3 per cent. rentes and Prussian 3s held prior to the war. If our government is forced to make the next issue of bonds bear a 4 per cent. rate of interest the Panama 3s will have to go to about 79½ to maintain their parity. In that event the 4s of 1925, which have fallen from 111 to 105 this year, would probably react nearer to par, though they possess circulation value. Should war last for three years it is quite probable that the United States would have to issue 4½ and 5 per cent. bonds, the same as Great Britain, France, and Germany, though at par, in-

stead of a large discount, as the belligerents have been doing. In this event the 3s would sell at 65 and the 4s of 1925 might go to a discount.

#### *Prospects for Commodity Prices*

The situation in respect to commodities is disturbing. It is influenced in a considerable degree by small crops. The present indications are for a yield of winter and spring wheat of less than 700,000,000 bushels. After wheat in Chicago had sold at about \$2.80, all trading except on a cash basis and at a given maximum was prohibited. The effect of this was a decline below \$2 a bushel and a readjustment to this figure in flour. Corn, which will have to be a food substitute for wheat this year on a greater scale than ever, has been so high that all foodstuffs depending on it have been greatly advanced. Cotton for the first time since the Civil War has risen above 25 cents a pound and it will probably go still higher. Last year's crop was small, and the one now planted does not promise any better on account of drought, insects, poor fertilizer, and the wider cultivation for other staples. Inflation shows itself more in commodities than elsewhere. It will

broaden and intensify as the war goes on. A sudden peace would obviously cause very disturbing readjustments in all commodity prices.

#### *Real Estate*

For some years there has not been a land boom or activity in improved real-estate values. This is one of the conspicuous features of the war period which has brought such great and universal prosperity. Exceptions are to be found, of course, in communities where the erection of new plants for the manufacture of war supplies has led to mushroom growths. Farm lands have held much of the rise made in the ten years prior to 1914. But the record prices since then of all food supplies have not added to these values. There was a great deal of overbuilding of cities and towns which not even the great increase in urban population has absorbed. A period of two or three years of inflation of credits would most likely lead to another land and real-estate advance. This is one of the phases of such an era as we are now in that ought to be controlled as far as control is possible, for it leaves the marks of distress long after other inflationary effects have been erased.

## II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

#### No. 851—SOME EXCELLENT BONDS

The writer and wife, age about 52, have maturing endowments in near future approximating ten thousand dollars. Wish safety and reasonable income. Present plans are:

- \$5000 joint and survivor annuity.
- \$1000 Armour & Co. 4½ per cents.
- \$1000 Dominion Canada 5 per cents of 1931.
- \$1000 Commonwealth Edison 1st 5 per cents.
- \$1000 Union Pacific Ref. 4 per cents.
- \$1000 Am. Tel. & Tel. Coll. 4 per cents.

How do you regard these?

The present weakness in the bond market seems to indicate that this is a good time for people of small means to invest, and we are very glad indeed to find it possible to commend the investment scheme which you outline. As a matter of fact, taking everything into consideration, we doubt very much that your scheme could be improved upon in any essential respect. The joint and survivor annuity should afford an entirely safe means for the employment for half of your surplus capital; and the bonds you have named seem to us to be representative, high grade, conservative securities of their respective classes with not a single element of trouble of any kind. Moreover, the prices at which these bonds are now selling in the open market are in our judgment exceptionally attractive and very well worth being taken advantage of by people who have funds for investment and who are looking for

safety, combined with a good average rate of income.

#### No. 852—RUSSIAN SECURITIES

I have a few hundred dollars which I would like to invest at a better rate than 4 per cent., and I thought of buying Russian securities now that their prices are low. Will you tell me what you think of such a plan.

If we were in your place, we should not give serious consideration to the purchase of any of the Russian bonds at the present time. We do not believe these securities can safely be recommended to people of modest capital resources. The situation with which the Russian nation is now confronted is, as you doubtless know, still full of uncertainties and one which makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible to forecast just what the fate of the nation is going to be. We do not go so far as to consider seriously the possibility of the repudiation of Russia's debts, but there is no assurance that the situation may not develop along lines that will serve to keep the value of the Russian ruble, as expressed in terms of the American dollar, at a considerable discount for some time to come. This will, of course, more directly affect the position of the Internal or so-called Ruble Bonds, but it will also continue to be reflected in the market position of the External Bonds.